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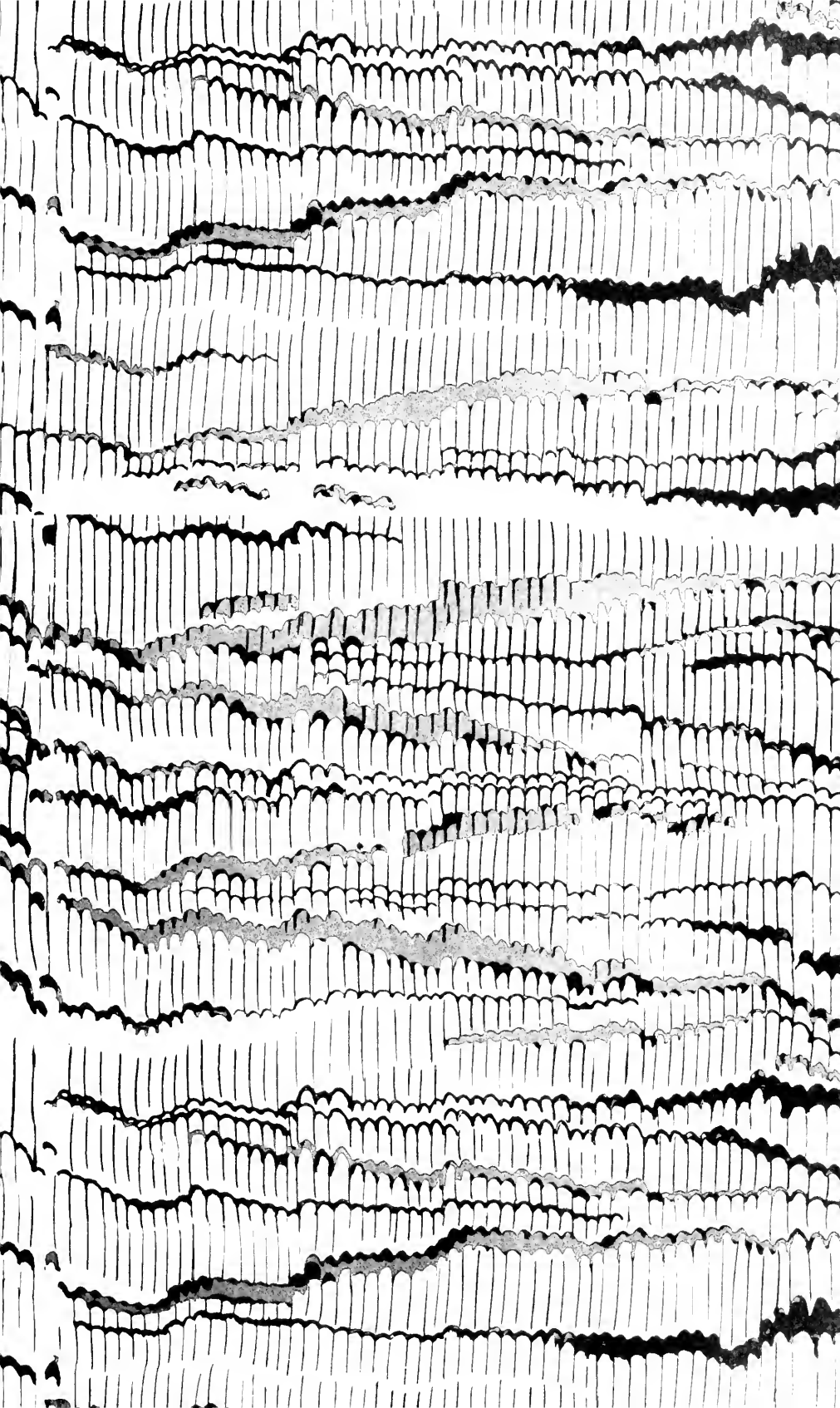
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# The National Divergence and Return.

## S P E E C H

OF

# WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

AT

## DETROIT, SEPTEMBER 4, 1860.

### FELLOW CITIZENS:

We claim that our political system is a judicious one, and that we are an intelligent and virtuous people. The government ought therefore not only to secure respect and good will abroad, but also to produce good order, contentment and harmony at home. It fails to attain these ends. The Canadians certainly neither envy nor love us. All the Independent American powers from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, while they strive to construct governments for themselves after our models, fear, and many of them hate us. European nations do indeed revere our constitutions and admire our progress, but they generally agree in pronouncing us inconsistent with our organic principle, and capricious. The President inveighs against corruption among the people. The immediate representatives of the people in Congress, charge the President with immoral practices, and the President protests against their action as subversive of the Executive prerogative. The House of Representatives organizes itself convulsively amid confessed dangers of popular commotion. The Senate listens unsurprised, and almost without excitement, to menaces of violence, secession and disunion. Frauds and violence in the territories are palliated and rewarded. Exposure and resistance to them are condemned and punished, while the just, enlightened and reasonable will of the people there, though constitutionally expressed, is circumvented, disobeyed and disregarded. States watch anxiously for unlawful intrusion and invasion by citizens of other states, while the Federal Courts fail to suppress piracies on the high seas, and even on our own coasts. The

government of the Union, courts and submits to state espionage of the Federal mails, while the states scarcely attempt to protect the personal rights of citizens of other states, peacefully pursuing harmless occupations within their fraternal jurisdictions.

Are the people satisfied and content? Let their several parties and masses answer. Certainly you, the Republicans of Michigan, as well as the Republicans throughout the whole country, are not satisfied. But you are interested in a change of administration, and therefore perhaps prejudiced. Ask then, the Constitutional Union men, few and inefficient indeed here, but numerous and energetic elsewhere. They are not satisfied. If they were they would not be engaged as they are now, in a hopeless attempt to organize a new party without any principles at all, after their recent failures to combine such a party on obnoxious principles. But they also are interested and possibly prejudiced like the Republicans. Appeal then to the Democratic party, which enjoys and wields the patronage and power of the Federal Government. Even the Democrats are no less dissatisfied. They certainly are dissatisfied with the Republicans, with the National Union men, with their own administration, with each other, and as I think even individually, with themselves. The North is not satisfied. Its masses want a suppression of the African slave trade, and an effectual exclusion of slavery from the territories, so that all the new and future states, may surely be free states. The South is not satisfied. Its masses by whatever means, and at whatever cost, desire the establishment and protection of slavery in the terri-

tories, so that none of the new states may fail to become slave states. The East is discontented with the neglect of its fishery, manufacture and navigation, and the West is impatient under the operation of a national policy, hostile to its agricultural, mining and social developments. What government in the world but ours, has persistently refused to improve rivers, construct harbors and establish light houses, for the protection of its commerce? New and anomalous combinations of citizens appear, in the North justifying armed instigators of civil and servile war, in the South devising means for the disruption and dismemberment of the Union. It is manifest, that we are suffering in the respect and confidence of foreign states, and that disorder and confusion are more flagrant among ourselves now than ever before.

I do not intend to be understood that these evils are thus far productive of material suffering or intolerable embarrassment, much less that the country is, as so many extravagant persons say, on the high road to civil war or dissolution. On the contrary, this fair land we live in is so blessed with all the elements of human comfort and happiness, and its citizens are at once so loyal and wise and so well surrounded by yet unbroken guaranties of civil and religious liberty, that our experience of misrule at the very worst never becomes so painful as to raise the question how much more of public misery we can endure; but it leaves us at liberty to stop now as always heretofore with the inquiry how much more of freedom, prosperity and honor, we can secure by the practice of greater wisdom and higher virtue? Discontentment is the wholesome fruit of a discovery of maladministration, and conviction of public error is here at least always a sure harbinger of political reform.

Martin Van Buren, they say, is writing a review of his own life, and our time, for posthumous uses. If it is not disrespectful, I should like to know now the conclusions he draws from the national events he has seen, and of which he has been an important part; for he is a shrewd observer, with advantages of large and long experience. To me it seems that the last forty years have constituted a period of signal and lamentable failure in the efforts of statesmen to adjust and establish a federal policy for the regulation of the subject of slavery in its relations to the Union. In this view I regard it as belonging to the office of a statesman not merely to favor an immediate and temporary increase of national wealth, and an enlargement of national territory, but also to fortify, so far as the prescribed constitutional limits of his action may allow, the influences of knowledge and humanity; to abate popular prejudices and passions, by modifying or removing their causes; to ascertain and disclose the operation of general laws and to study and reveal the social tendencies of the age, and by combining the past with the present, while giving free play all the time to the reciprocating action of the many co-existing moral forces, to develop that harmonious system which actually prevails in the apparent chaos of human affairs; and so to gain something in the way of assurance as to the complexion of that futurity towards which, since our country is destined to endure, and inasmuch as we desire that it may be immortal, our thoughts are so vehemently driven

even by the selfish as well as by the generous principles of our nature.

I have understood that John Quincy Adams, the purest and wisest statesman I ever knew, died despairing of a peaceful solution of the problem of slavery, on which he was so intently engaged throughout his public service. If we may judge from the absolute failures of Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Polk, Mr. Pierce and Mr. Buchanan in the respect I have mentioned, and if we take into consideration also the systems which Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Benton, Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster severally recommended, and which have subsequently failed to be adopted, we may perhaps conclude that the difficulties of establishing a satisfactory and soothing policy have overtaken even our wisest and most eminent statesmen. They certainly have been neither incapable nor selfish men. No age or country has been illustrated by public characters of greater genius, wisdom and virtue.

It is easy to see, fellow citizens, that the failure has resulted not from the faults of our statesmen, but from the peculiar constitutions and characters of political parties, on which they relied for power. Solid, enduring and constant parties, inspired by love of country, reverence for virtue and devotion to human liberty, bold in their conceptions of measures, moderate in success, and resolute throughout reverses, are essential to effective and beneficent administration in every free state. Unanimity, even in a wise, just and necessary policy, can never be expected in any country all at once, and without thorough debate and earnest conflicts of opinion. All public movements are therefore undertaken and prosecuted through the agencies, not of individuals, but of parties regulated, excited and moderated, as occasion may require, by their representatives. He who proposes means so impracticable that he can win no party to their support, may be a philanthropist, but he cannot be a statesman; and even when the leader in administration is thus sustained, he is, although never so earnest or wise, everywhere and at all times inefficient and imbecile, just in the degree that the party on which he depends, is inconstant, vacillating, timid or capricious. What has become of the several political parties, which have flourished within your time and mine? That dashing, unterrified, defiant party, whose irresistible legions carried the honest and intrepid hero of New Orleans on their shields, through so many civil encounters—that generous though not unprejudiced Whig party, which apprehensive of perpetual danger from too radical policies of administration, so often with unabated chivalry and enthusiasm, magically recombined its bruised and scattered columns, even when a capricious fortune had turned its rare and hard won triumphs into defeats more disastrous than the field fights which it had lost—the recent American party, that sprang at one bound from ten thousand dark chambers and which seemed only yesterday at the very point of carrying the government by a *coup de main*. All these parties, that for brief periods seemed so strong and so unchanging, have perished, leaving no deep impression on the history of the country they aimed to direct and rule forever. The Democratic party too that has clothed itself so complacently with the pleasant traditions of all preceding parties, and combined so felicitously

the most popular of our national sympathies with the most inveterate and repulsive of our conservative interests, that has won the South so dexterously, by stimulating its maddest ambition, and yet has held the North so tenaciously and so long, by awakening its wildest and most demoralizing fears. What is its condition? It is distinguished in fortune from its extinguished rivals only, by the circumstance that both portions of its crew, divided as the hulk breaks into two not unequal parts, retain sufficient energy in their despair, to seize on the drifting wrecks of other parties, and by a cunning though hopeless carpentry, to frame wretched and rickety rafts on which to sustain themselves for one dark night more on the tempestuous sea of national politics. All these parties, it is now manifest, were organized not specially to establish justice and maintain freedom and equality among an honest, jealous and liberty loving people, but to achieve some material public advantage of temporary importance, or to secure the advancement of some chief to whose discretion, as if the government were an elective despotism instead of a Republic, the distribution of its patronage and the direction of its affairs should be implicitly confided. They did indeed out of respect or fear of generous reforms, often affect to express elevated principles and generous sentiments in their carefully elaborated creeds, but these creeds nevertheless, even when not ambiguously expressed, were from time to time revised and qualified and modified, so that at last the interpreters who alone had them by heart, and were able to repeat them, were found perverting the constitution in its most unequivocal parts, and most palpable meaning, disparaging and rejecting the Declaration of Independence, and multiplying the founders of the Republic. The parties thus constituted, dependent not on any national or even on any natural sentiment, but on mere discipline for their cohesion, and coming at last through constant demoralization, to assume that capital and not labor, property and not liberty is the great interest of every people, and that religion conversant only with the relations of men to an unseen and future world, must be abjured in their conduct towards each other on earth, have finally discarded justice and humanity from their systems, broken up nearly all the existing combinations for spiritual ends, and attempted to conduct affairs of government on principles equally in violation of the constitution and of the eternal laws of God's Providence for the regulation of the Universe.

These views of the characters of our modern parties are by no means newly conceived on my part. In that high and intensely exciting debate in Congress in the year 1850, which, overruling the administration of General Taylor, brought the two then dominating parties into a compromise at the time solemnly pronounced final, irrevocable and eternal, but which was nevertheless scattered to the winds of Heaven only four years afterward, the great statesman of Kentucky denounced party spirit as he assumed it to be raging throughout the country, as pregnant with the imminent and intolerable disasters of civil war and national dissolution. I ventured then to reply that, in my humble judgment, it was not a conflict of parties that we then were seeing and hearing, but it was, on the contrary, the agony of distracted parties, a convulsion resulting from the too nar-

row foundations of both of the great parties and of all the parties of the day, foundations that had been laid in compromises of natural justice and human rights—that a new and great question—a moral question transcending the too narrow creeds of existing parties had arisen—that the public conscience was expanding with it, and the green withes of party combinations were giving way and breaking under the pressure—that it was not the union that was decaying and dying as was supposed, of the fever of party spirit, but that the two great parties were smitten with paralysis, fatal indeed to them unless they should consent to be immediately renewed and re-organized, borrowing needful elements of health and vigor from a cordial embrace with the humane spirit of the age.

But, fellow-citizens, to exempt our statesmen by casting blame on our political parties, does not reach, but only approximates the real source of responsibility. All of these parties have been composed of citizens, not a few but many citizens, in the aggregate, all the citizens of the Republic. They were not ignorant, willful or dishonest citizens, but sincere, faithful and useful members of the State. The parties of our country, what are they at any time, but ourselves, the people of our country? Thus the faults of past administration and of course the responsibility for existing evils, are brought directly home to yourselves and myself—to the whole people. This is no hard saying. The wisest, justest and most virtuous of men occasionally errs and has need daily to implore the Divine Goodness that he be not led further into temptation; and just so the wisest, justest and most virtuous of nations often unconsciously lose and depart from their ancient approved and safer ways. Is there any society, even of Christians, that has never had occasion to reform its practice, retrace its too careless steps and discard heresies that have corrupted its accepted faith? What was the English revolution of 1643, but a return from the dark and dangerous road of absolutism? What the French revolution, but a mighty convulsion, that while it carried a brave, enlightened, and liberty-loving nation backward on their progress of three hundred years, owed all its horrors to the delay which had so long postponed the needed reaction!

A national departure always happens, when a great emergency occurs unobserved and unfelt, bringing the necessity for the attainment of some new and important object, which can only be secured through the inspiration of some new but great and generous national sentiment.

Let us see if we can ascertain in the present case, when our departure from the right and safe way occurred. Certainly it was not in the Revolutionary age. The nation then experienced and felt a stern necessity, perceived and resolutely aimed at a transcendently sublime object, and accepted cheerfully the awakening influences of an intensely moving and generous principle. The necessity was deliverance from British oppression; the object, independence; the principle, the inalienable rights of man. The revolution was a success, because the country had in ADAMS and JEFFERSON and WASHINGTON and their associates, the leaders, and in the Whigs, the party needful for this crisis, and these were sustained by the people.

Our departure was not at the juncture of the establishment of the constitution. The country

then had and owned a new and overpowering necessity, perceived and demanded a new object and adopted a new and most animating principle. The necessity, the escape from anarchy; the object, Federal Union; the principle, fraternity of the American people. The Constitution with the Ordinance of 1787, practically a part of it, was not a failure, because HAMILTON, JAY and MADISON were competent, and the Federal party was constant, and the people gave it a confiding and generous support.

It was not in 1800, that the national deviation took place. Then were disclosed a new public necessity, new object, and new principle. A separation and removal of aristocratic checks and interests from the mechanism of our republican institutions. The needed reform did not fail, because JEFFERSON and GEORGE CLINTON, with their associates braved all resistance, the Republican party defended, and the people sustained them.

Again the departure did not occur in 1812. Then was discovered a farther necessity, bringing into view a farther object and introducing yet another new and noble principle of action. The necessity, a vindication of national rights; the object, freedom of intercourse with mankind; the principle, the defence of our homes and our honor. The war of 1812 was a success, because CLAY, CALHOUN and TOMPKINS did not shrink from the trial; the Republican party approved and the people sustained them.

In 1820, however, the nation had unconsciously reached and entered a new stage in its successful career, namely, that of expansion. By purchases from France and Spain it had extended its borders from the St. Mary's southward around the peninsula of Florida, and from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, an expansion to be afterwards indefinitely continued. We all know the advantages of expansion. They are augmented wealth and population. But we all know equally well, if we will only reflect, that no new advantage is ever gained in national more than in individual life without exposure to some new danger. What then is the danger which attends expansion? It is nothing less and can be nothing less than an increase of the strain upon the bonds of the Union. The time had come to organize government finally in the newly acquired territory of Louisiana, on principles that should be applied thereafter in all cases of further expansion. This necessity brought into glaring light a new object, namely, since the only existing cause of mutual alienation among the states was slavery, which was already carefully circumscribed by the ordinance of 1787, that anomalous institution must now be further circumscribed by extending the ordinance to cover the new states to be established in the Louisianian purchase. To this end a new and humane impulse naturally moved the country, namely, the freedom of human labor.

But although statesmen qualified for the crisis appeared, no party stood forth to support them with constancy, and the country, after a temporary glow of free soil excitement, subsided into cold indifference—and so a compromise was made which divided the newly acquired domain between free labor and capital in slaves, between freedom and slavery, a memorable compromise, which, after a trial of only thirty-four years, proved to be effective only in its concessions to slavery, while its greater guaranties of freedom were found unavailing and worthless. History

says that the compromise of 1820 was necessary to save the Union from disruption. I do not dispute history, nor debate the settled moral questions of the past. I only lament that it was necessary, if indeed it was so. History tells us that the course then adopted was wise. I do not controvert it. I only mourn the occurrence of even one case, most certainly the only one that ever did happen, in which the way of wisdom has failed to be also the way of pleasantness, and the path of peace. It was in 1820, therefore, that the national deviation began. We have continued ever since the divergent course then so inconsiderately entered, until at last we have reached a point, where, amid confusion, bewilderment and mutual recriminations, it seems alike impossible to go forward or to return. We have added territory after territory, and region after region with the customary boldness of feebly resisted conquerors, not merely neglecting to keep slavery out of our new possessions, but actually removing all the barriers against it which we found standing at the times of conquest. In doing this we have defied the moral opinions of mankind, overturned the laws and systems of our fathers, and dishonored their memories by declaring that the unequal and glorious constitution which they gave us, carries with it, as it attends our eagles, not freedom and personal rights to the oppressed, but slavery and a hateful and baleful commerce in slaves, wherever we win a conquest by sea or land over the whole habitable globe.

While we must now, in deference to history, excuse the first divergence, it is manifest that our subsequent persistence in the same course has been entirely unnecessary and unjustifiable. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Canada, what remains of Mexico, all the West Indies and Central America, are doubtless very desirable, but we have patiently waited for them, and are now likely to wait until they can be acquired without receiving slavery with them, or extending it over them. Nay, all the resistance we have ever met in adding Spanish American territories to our Republic, has resulted from our willful and perverse purpose of subverting freedom there, to blight the fairest portion of the earth, when we found it free, by extending over it our only national agency of desolation. We may doubtless persist still further. We may add conquest to conquest, for resistance to our ambition daily grows more and more impossible, until we surpass in extent and apparent strength the greatest empires of ancient or modern times, all the while enlarging the area of African bondage; but after our already ample experience, I think no one will be bold enough to deny that we equally increase the evils of discontent and the dangers of domestic faction.

Fellow-citizens, while I lament the national divergence I have thus described, I do not confess it to be altogether inexcusable. Much less do I blame any one or more of our politicians or parties, while exempting others. All are, in different degrees perhaps, responsible alike, and all have abundant, if not altogether adequate excuses. Deviation once begun, without realizing the immediate presence of danger, it was easier to continue on than to return. The country has all the time been growing richer and more prosperous and populous. It was not unnatural that we should disregard warnings of what we were

assured by high though interested authorities, atways were distant, improbable and even visionary dangers. It cannot be denied that the African races among us are abject, although their condition, and even their presence here are due not to their will or fault, but to our own, and that they have a direct interest in the question of slavery. How natural has it been to assume that the motive of those who have protested against the extension of slavery, was an unnatural sympathy with the negro instead of what it always has really been, concern for the welfare of the white man. There are few, indeed, who ever realize that the whole human race suffers somewhat in the afflictions and calamities which befall the humblest and most despised of its members.

The argument, though demanding the most dispassionate calmness and kindness, has too often been conducted with anger and broken out into violence.

Moreover, alarms of disunion were sounded, and strange political inventions like the floating fire ships sent down the St. Lawrence, by the besieged in Quebec, to terrify the army of Wolfe on the Island of St. Louis, appeared suddenly before us whenever we proposed to consider in good earnest, the subject of Federal slavery.

We love and we ought to love the fellowship of our slaveholding brethren. How natural, therefore, has it been to make the concessions so necessary to silence their complaints, rather than by seeming impracticability in what was thought a matter of indifference, to lose such genial companionship. Again, at least, present peace and safety together, with some partial guaranties and concessions of freedom, were from time to time obtained by compromises. Who had the right, or who the presumption to say with the certainty of being held responsible for casting imputations of bad faith upon our southern brethren, that these compromises would, when their interests should demand it, be disavowed and broken?

Other nations, we have assumed, are jealous of our growing greatness. They have censured us, perhaps with unjust asperity, for our apostasy in favor of slavery. How natural and even patriotic has it been on our part to manifest by persistence, our contempt and defiance of such interested and hostile animadversions. Besides, though slavery is indeed now practically a local and peculiar institution of the South, it was not long ago the habit and practice of the whole American people. It is only twenty-five years since our British brethren abolished slavery in their colonies, and only half a century since we or any European nation interdicted the African slave trade. Scarcely three generations have passed away, since the subject of the wrongfulness of slavery first engaged the consideration of mankind.

You and I indeed understand now very well, how it is, that slavery in the territories of the United States, is left open by the constitution to our utmost peaceful opposition, while within the slave states, it is entrenched behind local constitutions beyond the reach of external legislation. But the subject is a complex one, and the great masses of the people to whom it has only been recently presented, and doubtlessly often presented, under unfavorable circumstances, might well desire time for its careful and deliberate examination.

It seems a bold suggestion to say, that a great nation ought to reconsider a practice of forty years' duration; but forty years of a nation's life, are equivalent to only one year in the life of an individual. The thought is at least consistent with political philosophy, for it is not more true that personal persistence in error leads inevitably to ruin, than it is that every nation exists by obedience to the same moral laws which direct individual life, that they are written in its original constitution, and it must continually reform itself according to the spirit of those laws, or perish.

My humble advice, then, fellow citizens, is, that we return and re-establish the original policy of the nation, and henceforth hold, as we did in the beginning, that slavery is and must be only a purely local, temporary and exceptional institution, confined within the slave states where it already exists, while Freedom is the general, normal, enduring and permanent condition of society within the jurisdiction, and under the authority of the Constitution of the United States.

I counsel thus for a simple reason incapable of illumination. Slavery, however it may be at any time or in any place excused, is at all times and everywhere unjust and inhuman in its very nature; while freedom, however it may be at any time or in any place neglected, denied, or abused, is in its nature right, just and beneficent. It can never under any circumstances be wise to persevere voluntarily, in extending or fortifying an institution that is intrinsically wrong or cruel. It can never be unwise wherever it is possible, to defend and fortify an existing institution that is founded on the rights of Human Nature. Inasmuch as opinions are so materially, and yet so unconsciously affected and modified by time, place and circumstances, we may hold these great truths firmly, without impeaching the convictions or the motives of those who deny them in argument or in practice.

I counsel thus for another reason quite as simple as the first. Knowledge, emulation and independence among the members of a social state are the chief elements of national wealth, strength and power. Ignorance, indolence and bondage of individuals are always sources of national imbecility and decline. All nations in their turns have practised slavery. Most of them have abolished it. The world over, the wealthiest and most powerful nations have been those which tolerated it least, and which earliest and most completely abolished it. Virginia and Texas are thrown into a panic even now by the appearance or even the suspicion of a handful of men within their borders, instigating civil war. Massachusetts and Vermont defied British invasion, backed by treason, eighty years ago.

Thirdly, there is no necessity now to fortify or extend slavery within the United States or on the American continent. All the supposed necessities of that sort ever before known, have passed away forever. Let us briefly review them. With the discovery and conquest of America confessedly came a responsibility to reclaim it from nature and to introduce civilization. Unfortunately Spain and Portugal, the discoverers and conquerors, were of all the European States in the sixteenth century, the worst qualified and least able to colonize. They were neither populous, nor industrious, nor free; but were na-

tions of princes and subjects; of soldiers, navigators, nobles, priests, poets and scholars, without merchants, mechanics, farmers, or laborers. The art of navigation was imperfect; its practice dangerous, and the new world that the Pope had divided between his two most loyal crown wearing children was in its natural state pestilential. European emigration was therefore impracticable. In the emergency the conquerors, with ruffian violence, swept off at once the gold and silver ornaments which they found in the temples and on the persons of the natives, ignorant of their European values, and subjugated and enslaved the natives themselves. But these simple children of the forest, like the wild flowers when the hurricane sweeps over the prairies, perished under cruelties so contrary to nature.

The African trade, in prisoners of war spared from slaughter, afforded an alternative. The chiefs sold ten men, women or children, for a single horse. The conquerors of America brought this unnatural merchandise to our coasts. When the English colonists of North America, happily in only a very limited degree, borrowed from their predecessors this bad practice of slavery, they borrowed also its wretched apology, a want of an adequate supply of free labor. It was then thought an exercise of Christian benevolence to rescue the African heathen from eternal suffering in a future state, and through the painful path of earthly bondage to open to him the gates of the celestial paradise. But all this is now changed. We are at last no feeble or sickly colonies, but a great, populous, homogeneous nation, unsurpassed and unequaled in all the elements of colonization and civilization. Free labor here continually increases and abounds, and is fast verging towards European standards of value. There is not one acre too much in our broad domain for the supply of even three generations of our free population, with their certain increase. Immigration from Europe is crowding our own sons into the western region, and this movement is daily augmented by the application of new machines for diminishing mechanical and even agricultural labor. At this very moment, Congress, after a long and obstinate reluctance, finds itself obliged to yield a homestead law to relieve the pressure of labor in the Atlantic States. Certainly, therefore, we have no need and no room for African slaves in the Federal territories. Do you say that we want more sugar and more cotton, and therefore must have more slaves and more slave labor. I answer, first, that no class or race of men have a right to demand sugar, cotton, or any other comfort of human life to be wrung from them, through the action of the Federal Government, from the unrewarded and compulsory labor of any other class or race of men.

I answer, secondly, that we have sugar and cotton enough already for domestic consumption and a surplus of the latter for exportation without any increase of slave territory. Do you say that Europe wants more sugar and cotton than we can now supply? I reply, let then Europe send her free laborers hither, or into Italy, or into the West Indies, or into the East; or if it suit them better, let them engage the natives of cotton growing regions in the old world, to produce cotton and sugar voluntarily and for adequate compensation. Such a course, instead of fortifying and enlarging the sway of slavery here, will leave us free to favor its gradual removal. It will

renew or introduce civilization on the shores of the Mediterranean and throughout the coasts of the Indian Ocean. Christianity, more fully developed and better understood now than heretofore, turns with disgust and horror from the employment of force and piracy as a necessary agency of the Gospel.

*Fourthly.* All the subtle evasions and plausible political theories which have heretofore been brought into the argument for an extension of slavery, have at last been found fallacious and frivolous.

It is unavailing now to say that this government was made by and for white men only, since even slaves owed allegiance to Great Britain before the Revolution equally with white men, and were equally absolved from it by the Revolution, and are not only held to allegiance now under our laws, but are also subjected to taxation and actual representation in every department of the Federal Government. No government can excuse itself from the duty of protecting the extreme rights of every human being, whether foreign or native born, bond or free, whom it compulsorily holds within its jurisdiction. The great fact is now fully realized that the African race here is a foreign and feeble element like the Indians, incapable of assimilation, but not the less, therefore, entitled to such care and protection as the weak everywhere may require from the strong; that it is a pitiful exotic unwisely and unnecessarily transplanted into our fields, and which it is unprofitable to cultivate at the cost of the desolation of the native vineyard. Nor will the argument that the party of slavery is national and that of freedom sectional, any longer avail when it is fully understood, that so far as it is founded in truth, it is only a result of that perversion of the constitution which has attempted to circumscribe freedom, and to make slavery universal throughout the Republic. Equally do the reproaches, invectives and satires of the advocates of slavery extension fail, since it is seen and felt that truth, reason and humanity, can work right on without fanaticism and bear contumely without retaliation. I counsel his course farther, because the combinations of slavery are broken up, and can never be renewed with success. Any new combination must be based on the principle of the Southern Democratic faction, that slavery is inherently just and beneficent, and ought to be protected, which can no longer be tolerated in the North; or else on the principle of the Northern Democratic faction that slavery is indifferent and unworthy of federal protection, which is insufficient in the South, while the national mind has actually passed far beyond both of these principles, and is settled in the conviction that slavery, wherever and howsoever it exists, exists only to be regretted and deplored.

I counsel this course farther, because the necessity for a return to the old national way has become at last absolute and imperative. We can extend slavery into new territories, and create new slave states only by re-opening the African slave trade; a proceeding which, by destroying all the existing values of the slaves now held in the country, and their increase, would bring the north and the south into complete unanimity in favor of that return.

Finally I counsel that return because a Statesman has been designated who possesses, in an

eminent and most satisfactory degree, the virtues and the qualifications necessary for the leader in so great and generous a movement; and I feel well assured that ABRAHAM LINCOLN will not fail to re-maunurate the ancient constitutional policy in the administration of the government successfully, because the Republican party, after ample experience, has at last acquired the courage and the constancy necessary to sustain him, and because I am satisfied that the people, at last fully convinced of the wisdom and necessity of the proposed reformation, are prepared to sustain and give it effect.

But when it shall have been accomplished, what may we expect then; what dangers must we incur; what disasters and calamities must we suffer? I answer no dangers, disasters or calami-

ties. All parties will acquiesce, because it will be the act of the people, in the exercise of their sovereign power, in conformity with the constitution and laws, and in harmony with the eternal principles of justice, and the benignant spirit of the age in which we live. All parties and all sections will alike rejoice in the settlement of a controversy, which has agitated the country and disturbed its peace so long. We shall regain the respect and good will of the Nations, and once more, consistent with our principles, and with our ancient character, we shall, with their free consent, take our place at their head, in their advancing progress, towards a higher and more happy, because more humane and more genial civilization.



# Destiny of the United States.

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## S P E E C H

DELIVERED BY

# WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

AT

## ST. PAUL, SEPTEMBER 18, 1860.

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FELLOW CITIZENS:—One needs to have had something of the experience that it has been my fortune to have, living in a State at an early period of its material development and social improvement, and growing up with its growing greatness in order to appreciate the feeling with which I am oppressed on this, my first entrance into the capital of the State of Minnesota. Every step of my progress since I reached the Northern Mississippi has been attended by an agreeable and great surprise. I had early read the works in which the geographer had described the scenes on which I was entering, and I had studied these scenes in the finest production of art. But still the grandeur, the luxuriance, the beneficence, the geniality of this region were entirely unconceived. When I saw these sentinel walls that look down on the Mississippi, seen as I beheld them in their autumnal verdure, just when the earliest tinges of the fall give variety to the luxuriance of the forest, I thought how much of taste and genius had been wasted in celebrating the highlands of Scotland before civilized man had reached the banks of the Mississippi. And then that beautiful Lake Pepin scene at sunset, when the autumnal green of the hills was lost in a deep blue hue that imitates that of the heavens. The genial yellow atmosphere reflected the rays of the setting sun, and the skies above seemed to come down to spread their gorgeous drapery over this scene. It was a piece of upholstery such as no hand but that of nature could have made; and it was but the vestibule to the capital of the State of Minnesota—a State which I have loved, which I ever shall love, for more reasons than time would allow me to mention, but chiefly because it is one of three States which my own voice has been potential in bringing into the federal Union within the time that I have been engaged in the federal councils. Every one of the three was a free State, and I believe, on my soul, that of the

whole three Minnesota is the freest of all. (Loud applause.)

I find myself now, for the first time, on the high lands of the centre of the continent of North America, equidistant from the waters of Hudson's Bay and the Gulf of Mexico, from the Atlantic ocean to the ocean in which the sun sets—here, on the spot where spring up, almost side by side, so that they may kiss each other, the two great rivers—the one of which, pursuing its strange, capricious, majestic, vivacious career through cascade and river, and rapid, lake after lake, and river after river; finally, after a course of twenty-five hundred miles, brings your commerce half way to the ports of Europe; and the other, which meandering through woodland and prairie a distance of twenty-five hundred miles, taking in tributary after tributary from the East and from the West, bringing together the waters from the western declivity of the Alleghanies and those which trickle down the Eastern sides of the Rocky Mountains, finds the Atlantic Ocean in the Gulf of Mexico. (Applause.) Here is the central place whence the agriculture of the richest region of North America must bear its tribute to the supplies of the whole world. (Applause.) On the East, all along the shore of Lake Superior, and on the West stretching in one broad plain, in a belt quite across the continent, is a country where State after State is yet to rise, and where the productions for the support of human society in other crowded States must be brought forth. This is, then, a commanding field; but it is as commanding in regard to the destinies of this continent as it is in regard to its commercial future, for power is not to reside permanently on the eastern slope of the Alleghany Mountains, nor in the seaports. Seaports have always been overrun and controlled by the people of the interior. The people of the inland and of the upland—those who inhabit the sources of the mighty waters—are they who

supply them with wealth and power. The power of this government hereafter is not to be established on either the Atlantic or the Pacific coast. The seaports will be the mouths by which we shall communicate and correspond with Europe; but the power that shall speak and shall communicate and express the will of men on this continent is to be located in the Mississippi Valley, and at the sources of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence. (Loud applause.) In other days, studying what might, perhaps have seemed to others trifling or visionary, I have cast about for the future, the ultimate, central seat of power of the North American people. I had looked at Quebec and New Orleans, at Washington and at San Francisco, at Cincinnati and at St. Louis, and it had been the result of my best conjecture that the seat of power for North America would be yet found in the valley of Mexico, that the glories of the Aztec capital would be renewed, and that city would become ultimately the Capital of the United States of America. But I have corrected that view, and I now believe that the ultimate last seat of power on this continent will be found somewhere within a radius not very far from the very spot where I stand, at the head of navigation on the Mississippi river. (Loud applause.)

Fellow citizens, I have often seen, but never with great surprise, that on the occasion of a great revival of religion in a community where I happen to live, the oldest, the most devout, the most religious preacher, whose life had seemed to me and to the world to be best ordered, according to the laws of God, and in affection to the interests of mankind—that such as he discovered, in the heat of this religious excitement, that he had been entirely mistaken in his own experience, and that he now found out, to his great grief and astonishment, that he had never before been converted, and that now, for the first time, he had become a Christian. (Laughter.) While I stand here I almost fall into the notion that I am in the category of that preacher—(laughter)—and that, although I cannot charge myself with having been really a seditious, or even a disloyal citizen, or an unobservant public man, I have yet never exactly understood the duties that I owed to society and the spirit that belongs to an American statesman. This is because I have never, until now, occupied that place where I could grasp and take in the whole grand panorama of the continent, for the happiness of whose present people and of whose future millions it is the duty of an American statesman to labor. I have often said, and indeed thought, that one would get a very adequate, a very high idea of the greatness of this American republic of ours if he stood, as I have done, on the deck of an American ship-of-war as she sailed the Mediterranean, and, passing through the Ionian Islands, ascended the Adriatic, bearing at the masthead the stripes and stars, that commanded respect and inspired fear, equally among the semi-barbarians of Asia and the most polite and powerful of the nations of Europe—I have often thought that I could lift myself up to the conception of the greatness of this republic of ours by taking my stand on the terrace of the Capitol at Washington, and contemplating the concentration of the political power of the American people, and following out in my imagina-

tion the despatches by which that will, after being modified by the executive and legislative departments, went forth as laws and edicts, and ordinances, for the government of a great people. But, after all, no such place as either of these is equal to that which I now occupy.

I seem to myself to stand here on this eminence as the traveler who climbs to the dome of St. Peter's in Rome, and there, through the opening in that dome appears to be in almost direct and immediate communication with the Almighty power that directs and controls the actions and the wills of men, while he looks down from that eminence on the priests and votaries who vainly try, by poring over books and prayers, to study out the will of the Eternal. So it is with me. I can stand here and look far off in to the Northwest and see the Russian, as he busily occupies himself in establishing seaports and towns, and fortifications, as outposts of the empire of St. Petersburg, and I can say, "Go on; build up your outposts to the Arctic ocean. They will yet become the outposts of my own country, to extend the civilization of the United States in the Northwest." So I look on Prince Rupert's land and Canada, and see how an ingenious people and a capable, enlightened government, are occupied with bridging rivers and making railroads and telegraphs, to develop, organize, create and preserve the British provinces of the north, by the great lakes, the St. Lawrence and around the shores of Hudson's Bay, and I am able to say, "It is very well; you are building excellent States to be hereafter admitted into the American Union." (Applause.) I can look Southward and see, amid all the convulsions that are breaking up the ancient provinces of Spain, the Spanish American republics—see in their decay and dissolution the preparatory stage for their reorganization in free, equal and independent members of the United States of America. Standing on such an eminence and looking with that far distant range of vision, I can now look down on the States and the people of the Atlantic coast—of Maine and Massachusetts, and New-York and Pennsylvania, and Virginia and the Carolinas, and Georgia and Louisiana, and Texas, and round by the Pacific coast to California and Oregon—I can hear their disputes, their fretful controversies, their threats that if their own separate interests are not gratified and consulted by the federal government, they will separate from this Union—will secede from it, will dissolve it; and while I hear on their busy sidewalks these clamorous contentions I am able to say, "Peace; be still. These subjects of contention and dispute that so irritate, and anger, and provoke you, are but ephemeral or temporary. These institutions which you so much desire to conserve, and for which you think you would sacrifice the welfare of the people of this continent, are almost as ephemeral as yourselves." *The man is born to-day who will live to see the American Union, the American people—the whole of them—coming into the harmonious understanding that this is the land of the free man—for the free man—that it is the land for the white man; and that whatever elements there are to disturb its present peace or irritate the passions of its possessors will in the end—and that end will come before long—pass away, without capacity in any way to disturb the harmony of or endanger this great Union.* (Applause.)

Fellow citizens, it is under the influence of reflections like these that I thank God here to-day, more fervently than ever, that I live in such a great country as this, and that my lot has been cast in it—not before the period when political society was to be organized, nor yet in that distant period when it is to collapse and fall into ruin, but that I live in the very day and hour when political society is to be effectually organized throughout this entire country. Fellow citizens, we seem here and now to feel, to come into the knowledge of, that high necessity which compels every state in this Union to be, not separated and several States, but one part of the American republic. We see and feel more than ever, when we come up here, that fervent heat of benevolence and love for the region in which our lot is cast, that will not suffer the citizens of Maine, the citizens of South Carolina, the citizens of Texas, or the citizens of Wisconsin or Minnesota, to be aliens to, or enemies of, each other, but which on the other hand compels them to be members of one great political family. Aye, and we see more—how it is that while society is convulsed with the jealousies between native and foreign born in our Atlantic cities and on our Pacific coast, and tormented with the rivalries and jealousies produced by difference of birth, of language and of religion, here in this central point of the republic the German, and the Irishman, and the Italian, and the Frenchman, and the Hollander, becomes, in spite of himself, almost completely, in his own eyes and in his children's, an American citizen. (Applause.) We see and feel, therefore, the unity, in other words, that constitutes, and compels us to constitute, not many nations, not many peoples, but one nation and one people only. (Applause.) Valetudinarians of the North have been in the habit of seeking the sunny skies of the South to restore their wasting frames under consumption; and valetudinarians of the South have been accustomed to seek the skies of Italy for the same relief. Now you see the valetudinarians of the whole continent, from the frozen North and from the burning South, resort to the sources of the Mississippi for an atmosphere which shall reinvigorate and restore them to health. (Applause.) Do you not see and feel here that this atmosphere has another virtue—that when men from Maine and from Carolina, and from Mississippi and from New Hampshire, and from England and Ireland and Scotland, from Germany and from all other portions of the world, come up here into this same valley of the Mississippi, the atmosphere, when it once becomes naturalized to their lungs, becomes the atmosphere not only of health, but of liberty and freedom? (Applause.) *Do we not feel when we come up here that we have not only found the temple and the shrine of freedom, but that we have come into the actual living presence of the Goddess of Freedom?* (Loud Applause.) Once in her presence we see that no less capacious temple could be fit for the worship that is her due.

I wish, my fellow citizens, that all my associates in public life could come up here with me and learn by experience, as I have done, the elevation and serenity of soul which pervade the people of the great Northwest. It is the only region of the United States in which I find fraternity and mutual charity fully developed. (Applause.) Since I first set my foot in the valley of

the Upper Mississippi I have met men of all sects and of all religions, men of the republican party and of the democratic party and of the American party, and I have not heard one reproachful word, one disdainful sentiment. I have seen that you can differ, and yet not disagree. (Applause.) I have seen that you can love your parties and the statesmen of your choice, and yet love still more the country, and its rulers, the people—the sovereign people—not the squatter sovereignties, scattered so widecast in distant and remote Territories which you are never to enter, and so devised that they may be sold, and that the Supreme Court of the United States may abolish sovereignty and the sovereigns also. (Laughter.) You love the sovereignty that you possess yourselves, where every man is his own sovereign—the popular sovereignty that belongs to me, and the popular sovereignty that belongs to you, and the equal popular sovereignty that belongs to every other man who is under the government and protection of the United States. (Applause.) Under the influence of such sentiments and feelings as these I scarcely know how to act or speak when I come before you at the command of the people of Minnesota, as a republican. I feel that if we could be but a little more indulgent, a little more patient with each other, a little more charitable, all the grounds on which we disagree would disappear and pass away, just as false popular sovereignty is passing away; and let us all, if we cannot confess ourselves to be all republicans, at least agree that we are American citizens. (Applause.) I see here, moreover, how it is that in spite of sectional and personal ambition, the form and body and spirit of this nation organizes itself and consolidates itself out of the equilibrium of irrepressible and yet healthful political counterbalancing forces, and how out of that equilibrium is produced just exactly that one thing which the interests of the continent and of mankind require should be developed here—and that is a federal republic of separate republican and democratic States.

I see here how little you and I, and those who are wiser and better and greater than you or I, have done, and how little they can do, to produce the very political condition for the people of this continent which they are assuming, and under which they are permanently to remain—and that is the condition of a free people. I see that while we seemed to ourselves to have been trying to do much and to do everything, and while many fancy that they have done a great deal, yet what we have been doing, what we now are doing, what we shall hereafter do, and what we and those who may come after us shall continue to be doing, is just exactly what was necessary to be done, whether we knew it or not, for the interests of humanity on this globe, and therefore it was certain to be done, because necessity is only another expression or name for the higher law. God ordains that what is useful to be done shall be done. (Applause.) When I survey the American people as they are developing themselves fully and perfectly here. I see that they are doing what the exigencies of political society throughout the world have at last rendered it necessary to be done. Society tried for six thousand years how to live and improve, and perfect itself under monarchical and aristocratic systems of government, while prac-

tising a system of depredation and slavery on each other; and the result has been all over the world, a complete and absolute failure. At last, at the close of the last century, the failure was discovered, and a revelation was made of the necessity of a system in which henceforth men should cease to enslave each other and should govern themselves. (Applause.) Nowhere in Africa, in Asia or in Europe, was there an open field where this great new work of the reorganization of a political society under more favorable forms of government could be attempted. They were all occupied. This great and unoccupied continent furnished the very theatre that was necessary, and to it came all the bold, the brave, the free men throughout the world, who feel and know that necessity, and who have the courage, the manhood and the humanity to labor to produce this great organization. Providence set apart this continent for this work, and, as I think, set apart and designated this particular locality for the place whence shall go forth continually the ever-renewing spirit which shall bring the people of all other portions of the continent up to a continual advance in the establishment of this system. I will make myself better understood by saying that, until the beginning of the present century, men had lived the involuntary subjects of political governments, and that the time had come when mankind could no longer consent to be so governed by force.

The time had come when men were to live voluntary citizens and sovereigns themselves of the States which they possessed; and that is the principle of the government established here. It has only one vital principle. All others are resolved into it. That one principle—what is it? It is the equality of every man who is a member of the State to be governed. If there be not absolute political equality, then some portion of the people are governed by force, and are not voluntary citizens; and whenever any portion of the citizens are governed by force, then you are carried so far backward again toward the old system of involuntary citizenship, or a government by kings, lords and standing army. This was the great necessity, not of the people of the United States alone. It was not even the original conception of the people of the United States that a republican government was to be established for themselves alone; but the establishment of the republican system of the United States of America was only bringing out and reducing to actual practice the ideas and opinions which men had already formed all over the civilized world; and if you will refer to the action of our forefathers you will find that while they labored, as they might well labor, to secure this government in its republican form for themselves and their posterity, yet they were conscious that they were erecting it as a model for the people of every nation, kindred and tongue under heaven. The old Continental Congress of 1787 declared that the interests of the United States were the interests of human nature, and that it was the political redemption of human nature that was to be worked out on the continent of North America, and, as I have said, it is to be brought to its perfection here in the valley of the Mississippi. Now, fellow citizens, the framers of the Republic conceived this necessity—they assumed this high responsibility. They never could have done so except for the crisis of the Revolution,

which kindled enlightened patriotism within the bosoms of the people, and enabled them, for a brief period, to elevate themselves up above temporary and ephemeral interests and prejudices, and to rise to the great task of organizing and constituting a free government. The people understood the great principle on which it was to be founded—the political equality of the whole people—and that they did so understand it you will see in the Declaration of Independence, in which, beginning to lay the foundations of this great republic, they laid them on the great truth that all men are created equal, and have inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. But it was not the good fortune of our forefathers to be able to find full and ample materials all of the right kind, for the erection of the temple of liberty which they constructed. Providence has so ordered it that all the materials for any edifice which the human hand is required to devise and the human hand to construct cannot be found anywhere. If you propose to build a limestone house you may excavate the ground on which it is to be placed, and take from the bosom of the earth the stones, and lay them all away in their proper place in the foundation and walls. But other materials besides the limestone enter into the noblest structure that you can make. There must be some lime and some sand, and some iron, and some wood, and you must combine materials to make any human structure.

Even the founders of a great republic like this, wishing and intending to place it on the principle of the equality of man, had to take such materials as they found. They had to take a society in which some were free and some were slaves, and to form a Union in which some were free states and some were slave states. They had the ideal before them, but they were unable to perfect it all at once. What did they do? They did as the architect does who raises a structure of stone, and lime and sand; and where there is a weakness of the material, and where the strength of the edifice would be impaired, he applies braces and props, and bulwarks and battlements, to strengthen and fortify, so as to make the weak part combine with and be held together in solid connection with the firm and strong. That is what our fathers intended to do, and what they did do, when they framed the federal government. Seeing this element of slavery, which they could not eliminate, they said, "We will take care that it shall not weaken the edifice and bring it into ruin. We will take care that, although we may allow slaves now, the number of slaves hereafter shall diminish and the number of white men shall increase, and that ultimately the element of free white men shall be so strong that the element of slavery shall be inadequate to produce any serious danger, calamity or disaster." How did they do this? They did it in a simple way: by authorizing Congress to prohibit, and practically by prohibiting the African slave trade after the expiration of twenty years from the establishment of the Constitution, supposing that if no more slaves were imported the American people—then almost unanimously in favor of emancipation—would be able to eliminate from the country the small amount of slavery, which would be left to decay and decline for want of invigoration by the African slave trade. They

did another thing. They set apart the territory northwest of the Ohio river—all of the unoccupied domain of the United States—for freemen only, declaring that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should ever enter on its soil. They did one thing more. They declared that Congress should pass uniform laws of naturalization, so that when the importation of African slaves should cease voluntary emigration of freemen from all other lands should be encouraged and stimulated. Thus, while unable to exclude slavery from the system, they provided for the development and perfection of the principle—gradually approaching it—that all men are born free and equal.

And now, fellow citizens, we see all around us the results of that wise policy. Certain of the States concurred partially in the policy of the fathers. I need not tell you what States they were. They were Massachusetts, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Some other States did not. I need not tell you what States they were. They were the six Southern States of the union. The six Southern States said: "Although the Constitution has arrested the slave trade and invited immigration, and adopted the policy of making all the men of the States free and equal, yet we will adhere to the system of slavery." Well, what is the result? You see it in the cities of Boston, New York and Philadelphia. You see it in the wheat fields of New York, of Ohio, of Indiana, of Illinois, of Wisconsin. You see it in the flocks of sheep in Vermont and New Hampshire. You see it in the cattle that multiply and abound upon a thousand hills. You see it in the millions of spindles in the manufactories of the East, and in the forges and furnaces of Pennsylvania. You see it in the crowded shipping of New York, and in her palaces and towers, ambitiously emulating the splendors of the Old World, and grasping to herself the commerce of the globe. You see even in California and Oregon the same results. You see them in the copper dug out on the banks of Lake Superior, the iron in Pennsylvania, the gypsum in New York, the salt in Ohio and New York, the lead in Illinois, and the silver and the gold in the free States of the Pacific coast. In all these you see the fruits of this policy.

Neither in forests, nor mines, nor manufactories, nor workshops, is their one African slave that turns a wheel or supplies oil to keep the machinery in motion. (Applause.) On the other hand you see millions of freemen crowding each other in a perpetual wave, rolling over from Europe on the Atlantic coast, spreading over and building up great States from the foot of the Alleghany mountains, rolling over thence year after year, until they build up in nine years a capital in Minnesota equal to the capital built in any slave State in the Union in two hundred years. (Cheers.) You see here the fruits of this great policy of the fathers; you see what comes of a wise policy. But do not let us mistake it for policy. It is not policy; it is the simple national practice of justice, of equal and exact justice to all men—for this freedom which we boast so highly, which we love so dearly, and so justly, which we prefer above every other earthly good, and without which earth is unfit for the habitation of man—what is it? Nothing but you allowing to me my rights, and I allowing to

you equal rights—every man having exactly his own, the right to decide whether he will labor or perish, whether he will labor and eat, or will be idle and die—and if he will labor, for what he will labor and for whom he will labor, and the right to discharge his employer just exactly as the employer can discharge him. (Cheers.) You see the fruits of this policy in another way. Go over the American continent, from one end of it to the other, wherever the principle of equality has been retained, and every citizen of a State, and every citizen of every other State and every exile from a foreign nation, may write, print, speak and vote—when he acquires the right to vote—just exactly as he pleases, and there is no man to molest him, no man to terrify him, no man even to complain. And now reverse the picture, and go into any State that has retained the principle of the inequality of man, and determined that it will maintain it to the last, and you will find the State where not even the native born citizen and slaveholder, or certainly none but him, can express his opinion on the question whether the African is or is not a descendant of Ham, or whether he is equal or inferior to the white man, and if he be inferior, whether it is not the duty of the white man to enslave him. No, "mun's the word" for freemen wherever slavery is retained and cherished—silence, the absence of freedom of speech and of freedom of the press. What kind of freedom is that? Is there a man in Minnesota who would for one day consent to live in it if he were not indulged in the exercise of the right to hurrah for Lincoln or to hurrah for Douglas, to hurrah for freedom or to hurrah for slavery. I think that these 180,000 people would be seen moving right out, east and west, into British North America or into Kamschatka, anywhere on the earth, to get out of this luxuriant and fertile valley, if any power, human or divine, should declare to them that they spoke and voted their real sentiments and their real choice at their peril. Now, fellow citizens, you need only look around through such a mass of American citizens as I can see before me, and you may go over all the free States in this Union, and you will find them every day of the week somewhere gathered together, expressing their opinions, and preparing to declare their will, just exactly as you are doing. Does this *happen* to be so? Is it man's work, or device, or contrivance, that on this land, on this side of the great lakes, on this side of the Atlantic Ocean, on this side only of the Pacific Ocean, men may all meet or may all stay apart, may all speak, think, act, print, write and vote just exactly as they please, while there is no other land on the face of the earth where ten men can be assembled together to exercise the same rights without being dispersed by an armed band of soldiers? Does it *happen* to be so in the United States or is it the result of that higher law, controlling the destinies of races and of nations of men, so as to bring out and perfect here what I have described as the great constitution of society, of a self-governing people, the practice of equal and exact justice among each other. Manifestly it is not of man's device or contrivance, but it is a superior power that

— "shapes our ends,  
Rough hew them how we may."

Now, fellow citizens, while we see how obviously this is the result of controlling necessity,

how obviously we read that it is in accordance with the very purpose of a beneficent Providence, how singular and strange it is that so much pains have been taken to defeat and prevent the organization and perfection of this very system of government among us. What has not the nation seen done and permitted to be done at Washington? It has permitted statutes to be made, and judgments to be rendered in its name, declaring that men are not freemen, but that in certain conditions and in certain places they are merchandise. The Supreme Court of the United States never rises without recording judgments and directing executions for the sale of men, women and children, as merchandise. And this is done in your name and mine. The Constitution never declared, never intended to declare, was never by its framers understood to declare, that any man could be a chattel and merchandise. (Applause. "Three cheers for that declaration.") All that it did declare was that all men should have rights to personal security and personal liberty within the action of the federal government. You see how we have had new religious systems established among us teaching that the African slaves among us, all Africans, are the children of an accursed parent, who was cursed not only in his own person and in his own day and generation, but in all his generations, and teaching that everybody had a right to curse his generation. We have had religious systems established among us, teaching that it is our duty to capture and return to slavery slaves escaping from their masters, because St. Paul sent back Onesimus, as they say, to his master—religious systems even teaching that it is the duty of men in a free State, not only to submit to laws passed for the purpose of extending human bondage, but even personally to execute them. You have seen in a portion of the Union how the great governing race, the white men, actually deprive themselves largely of the advantages of education and instruction for the greater security of keeping slaves in ignorance, so that schools and colleges, libraries and universities, as they are organized and perfected in the free States, and now in most of the States of Western Europe, are incapable of being had or maintained in the slave States. You have seen how we have, in order to counteract the policy of our forefathers on the subject of slavery, surrendered in 1820 the State of Missouri and all that part of the Territory of Louisiana that lies south 36° 30' to slavery, and contented ourselves with saving to freedom what lay north of that line; and you have seen how, only forty years afterwards in order to counteract and entirely defeat the policy of the fathers in establishing such institutions as those, we surrendered and gave up the whole of what we had saved in 1820, surrendering Kansas and the whole of our possessions from one end of the continent to the other, to be made slave colonies and slave States, if slave owners could make them so, and agreeing that we would receive them into the Union, as we had already for like considerations agreed to receive four slave States out of Texas, to the end that government might not continue to be, and develop itself to be, a government founded on the equality of man, but should be and remain forever a government founded on the principle of property in man. You have seen, fellow citizens, within the last thirty years, how

the Congress of the United States, in order to defeat the great policy, has suppressed for a period of nearly ten years freedom of debate and the right of petition on the subject of slavery in the House of Representatives and in the Senate of the United States. You know now how the mails of the United States are subjected to espionage, to the end that any paper, or letter, or writing that shall argue for freedom against slavery, shall be abstracted and withdrawn, in order to fortify the power of slavery. You have seen the federal government connive and co-operate and combine with the slave party in endeavoring to force slavery on the people of Kansas when they had refused to accept it. If you have seen all these things done, I am sorry to say that most of you have, at some time in your lives, given your consent that they should be done. The American people have consented to all this action of their own government to counteract and subvert the very principles of freedom established by the constitution.

Now, since all this has been done, let us see what is the result after all—what advantage has slavery got, and what has freedom lost, while we have for forty years given our free consent that freedom should be stripped of everything and that slavery should be invested with all power. Why, they have arrested the march of emancipation at the line of Pennsylvania, and have left the ancient slavery still existing in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia; and they have added to them some five or six slave States in the southwestern angle of the Ohio and the Mississippi. That is all that they have done. And on the other hand, this great vital principle of the republic, this principle of freedom and equality, what has it not done? It has abolished slavery in seven of the original states, and has produced new and strong and most vigorous and virtuous States all along the shores of the great lakes and across to the valley of the Mississippi, and it has established freedom beyond the power of being overthrown on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

Certainly, since we can lay so little claim to having produced these results by our own work, or wisdom, or virtue, *what could it have been but that overruling Power, which, by its higher law, controls even the perverse wills of men, and which means that this shall be, henceforth and forever, as it was established in the beginning, a land, not of slavery, but a land of freedom.* (Cheers.) *Fellow citizens, either in one way or the other, whether you agree with me in attributing it to the interposition of Divine Providence or not, this battle has been fought, this victory has been won. Slavery to-day is, for the first time not only powerless, but without influence in the American republic.* The serried ranks of party after party, which rallied under it to sustain and support it, are broken and dissolved under the pressure of the march—the great and powerful march—of the American people determined to restore freedom to its original and just position in the government. For the first time in the history of the United States, no man in a free State can be bribed to vote for slavery. The government of the United States has not the power to make good a bribe or a seduction by which to make and convert Democrats to support slavery. (Applause.) *For the first time in the history of the republic the slave power has not even the power to terrify or alarm the freeman so*

as to make him submit, and scheme, and coincide, and compromise. It rails now with a feeble voice, as it thundered in our ears for twenty or thirty years past. With a feeble and muttering voice they cry out that they will tear the Union to pieces. (Derisive laughter.) *Who's afraid?* (Laughter and cries of "No one!") They complain that if we will not surrender our principles, and our system, and our right—being a majority—to rule, and if we will not accept their system, and such rulers as they will give us, they will go out of the Union. *Who's afraid?* (Laughter.) *Nobody's afraid; nobody can be bought.*

Now, fellow citizens, let me ask you, since you are so prompt at answering—suppose at any time within the last forty years we could have found American people in the free States everywhere just as they are everywhere in the free States now—in such a condition that there was no party that could be bought, nobody that could be scared—how much sooner do you think this revolution would have come, in which we are now engaged? I do not believe there has been one day since 1787 until now when Slavery had any power in this government, except what it derived from buying up men of weak virtue, no principle and great cupidity, and terrifying men of weak nerve in the free States. (Laughter and applause.) And now I come to ask what has made this great political change? How is it that the American people, who, only ten years ago, said, "Take part, take all"—who only six years ago, said, "Take Kansas, carry slavery over it," who when the tears of the widows and the blood of the martyrs of liberty cried out from the ground and appealed to them for aid and help, and sympathy, said, "Let Kansas shriek;" how is it that in the space of six years you have all become—the whole people of the North and of the Northwest, the whole people of the free States—have become all at once so honest that none of them can be bought, so brave that none of them can be scared? I will tell you. Theorists and visionaries on the Atlantic coast, who of all men in the world were safest from the invasion of slavery and had least to suffer from it, while these prairies and fields and wildernesses were as yet being filled up and organized, could not be convinced of the imminence of the danger. It has been next to impossible to convince the man who lives on the sidewalk of an Atlantic city, or even the farmer in his field, who lives in Ontario, or Cayuga, or Berks, or in any of the counties of the Eastern States, that it was a matter of very great consequence to him, whether slaves or freemen constitute the people—the ruling power of the new States. But just in the right moment, when the battle was as good as lost, the emigration from the Eastern States and from the Old World, into Michigan, and Wisconsin, and Minnesota and Iowa, rose up in the exercise and enjoyment of that freedom which had been saved to them by the ordinance of 1787, and appreciating its value and importance, and feeling, every man for himself, that he neither would be a slave, nor make a slave, nor own a slave, nor allow any particular man to make or buy, or own a slave within the state to which they belonged, they came like Blucher to the rescue, and the field of Waterloo was won. The Northwest has vindicated the wisdom of the statesmen of 1787, and the virtue of the Ameri-

can people; and now since you were so determined that slavery should be arrested and that freedom should henceforth be national and slavery only sectional, we of the Atlantic States are becoming just as honest and just as brave as you are. (Applause.)

Fellow citizens, I must not be mis-interpreted. I have said that this battle was fought, and this victory won. I said so four years ago in the Senate of the United States, and perhaps I was thought to have thereby, instead of encouraging the great army of freedom to consummate its triumph, tended to demoralize its energies. I knew better. I knew that men worked all the better, and are all the braver when they have hope and confidence of success and triumph, instead of acting under the influence of despondency and despair. This battle is fought and this victory is won, provided that you stand determined to maintain the great Republican party under its great and glorious leader, Abraham Lincoln, in inaugurating its principles into the administration of the government, and provided you stand by him in his administration, if it shall be, as I trust it shall, a wise and just, and good one, *until the adversary shall find out that he has been beaten and shall voluntarily retire from the field.* (Applause.)

A voice—"We'll do it."

Unless you do that, there is still danger that all that has been gained may be lost. There is one danger remaining—one only. Slavery can never now force itself or be forced from the stock that exists among us, into the territories of the United States. But the cupidity of trade and the ambition of those whose interests are identified with slavery, are such that they may clandestinely and surreptitiously reopen either within the forms of law or without them, the African slave trade, and may bring in new cargoes of African slaves at \$100 a head and scatter them into the Territories; and, once getting possession of new territory, they may again operate on the cupidity or the patriotism of the American people.

Therefore it is that I enjoin upon you all to regard yourselves as men, who, although you have achieved the victory and are entitled even now, it seems, to laurels, have enlisted for the war and for your natural lives. You are committed to maintain this great policy until it shall have been so firmly reinstated in the administration of the government, and so firmly established in the hearts, and wills, and affections of the American people, that there shall never be again a demoralization from this great work. We look to you of the Northwest. Whether this is to be a land of slavery or of freedom, the people of the Northwest are to be the arbitrators of its destiny. The virtue that is to save this nation must reside in the Northwest, for the simple reason that it is not the people who live on the sidewalks, and who deal in merchandise on the Atlantic or the Pacific coasts, that exercise the power of government, of sovereignty, in the United States. The political power of the United States resides in the owners of the lands of the United States. The owners of workshops and of the banks are in the East, and the owners of the gold mines are in the far West; but the owners of the land of the United States are to be found along the shores of the Mississippi river, from New Orleans to the sources of the great rivers and the

great lakes. On both sides of this stream are the people who hold in their hands the destinies of the republic. I have been asked by many of you what I think of Minnesota. I will not enlarge further than to say that Minnesota must be either a great State or a mean one, just as her people shall have wisdom and virtue to decide.

That some great states are to be built up in the valley of the Mississippi, I know. You will no longer hear hereafter of the "Old Dominion" state; dominion has passed away from Virginia long ago. Pennsylvania is no longer the keystone of the American Union, for the arch has been extended from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific Ocean, and the center of the arch is moved westward. A new keystone is to be built in that arch. New York will cease to be the Empire State, and a new Empire State will

grow up in a northern latitude, where the lands are rich, and where the people who cultivate them are all free and all equal. That state which shall be truest to the great fundamental principle of the government—that state which shall be most faithful, most vigorous in developing and perfecting society on this principle—will be at once the new Dominion State, the new Keystone State, the new Empire State. (Applause.) If there is any state in the Northwest that has been kinder to me than the State of Minnesota, and if such a consideration could influence me, then I might perhaps have a feeling of emulation for some other state. I will only say, that every man who has an honest heart and a clear head can see that these proud distinctions are within the grasp of the people of Minnesota, and every generous heart will be willing to give her a fair chance to secure them. (Loud Applause.)

# The West: its Destiny and its Duty.

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## S P E E C H

DELIVERED BY

# WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

AT

## DUBUQUE, SEPTEMBER 21, 1860.

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FELLOW CITIZENS: He who could pass down the Mississippi, as it washes the shores of Iowa, and see the accumulated products of the harvest, waiting, under all changes of the weather, for means of transport to the eastern markets, and thence for distribution to the needy in every part of the globe, and be unmoved, must be an enemy of his race. He who could enter this, the principal seaport of the State, witness the signs of activity and thrift which appear on all sides, ascend the hills which overlook the town and river, and see the rich and useful minerals everywhere and on every side extracted from the bosom of the earth and sent abroad to perform their part in the service of mankind, must be incapable of appreciating the elements of a great and prosperous people.

I have seen, as have my fellow travelers, this exhibition; and it may be not displeasing to you to know the results of the observations we have made. It is that, although this town and State were stimulated to a high degree of activity, and to a very rapid process of development by the great tide of capital and emigration from the east, which was arrested in the revulsion of 1857, yet the basis of the prosperity of this city and State is sure and steadfast; the blood, after such increased activity in searching the distant parts of our great system, must needs return to the heart again in the East from which it flowed. But so long as a great nation like this remains at peace, the blood is not long in filling up again the storehouse of the heart. Within a year or two or three, the prosperity of Dubuque and of Iowa will be renewed.

Fellow citizens, we were tempted by the committee who accompanied us to the heights which overlook the city, and who took us for politicians of a different class—we were tempted with the display before us. Here, they said, at your feet lie three States, Iowa, Wisconsin and Illinois—enough, they thought, to tempt ambitious politicians as they supposed us to be. I answered that the States which were desired by Northern politicians during my connection with public service, had been no such States as these which produce wheat, and corn and lead; but they were States which lay further down the valley of the Mississippi; the nearer the Gulf of Mexico the better. And my respected friend from Massachusetts remarked that they didn't seem to know what constitutes a State in the esteem of a northern politician; it is negroes that constitute the State—politicians want slaves, and you have none to offer.

Fellow citizens, we in the East are interested in your success, in your prosperity, in your aggrandizement, for we in the East are but the consumers and the manufacturers and the sellers of what you create. We should soon languish and die if production were to cease in the valley of the Mississippi. Nor, perhaps, is it necessary to add, are you independent of us, for you are charged with the responsibility of supplying the materials of men and women, and of men for the defense of the liberties of this nation and its welfare. And if we of the East are feeble and imbecile, you in the West will languish and come down to the same common ruin with ourselves. It is therefore that we propose to speak to you

on this occasion of what concerns us all; a great political question, which is to be the subject of decision by the American people in the coming canvass.

We who have come here from the East say that the national policy for the last forty years on the subject has been erroneous, false, and tends to ruin, and that it must be reversed. That policy simply, tersely stated is this: *The policy of the Federal government has been to extend and fortify African slave labor in the United States.*

Now let there be no cavil on this point, for many who have maintained the administration and the party who have carried out this policy, have been unconscious, doubtless, of the nature of the policy they maintained. But it is not a subject of dispute or cavil what has been the policy of the government of the country for forty years. I will give but one illustration. No man in the nation would have objected or could have objected to the admission of Texas into the Federal Union provided it had been a free state. No man who objected could have objected but for the reason that she was not a slave state. When the question of annexing Texas tried all the existing parties, and puzzled, bewildered, and confounded the statesmen of the country, the question was finally decided, in a short and simple way, by the declaration of the administration of John Tyler, made by Mr. Calhoun, his Secretary of State, that Texas must be annexed because it was a slaveholding country—it must be annexed with the condition of subdividing it into four slave states. Texas must be annexed for the purpose of fortifying and defending the institution of slavery in the United States. This one single fact upon which the parties joined issue, is conclusive. I will not go further in showing that that has been the policy of the country for forty years.

Now I have said that it is our proposition to reverse this policy. Our policy, stated as simply as I have stated that of our adversaries, is, *to circumscribe slavery, and to fortify and extend free labor or freedom.* Many preliminary objections are raised by those among you and us, who are not prepared to go with us to the acceptance of this issue. They say that they are tired of a hobby and of men of one idea; that the country is too great a country, and has too many interests to be occupied with one idea alone; besides that it is repulsive, offensive, it is disgusting to have "this eternal negro question" forever forced upon their consideration when they desire to think of white men and other things. It is well, perhaps, to remove these preliminary objections before we go into an argument.

Now, granting for a moment that there is wisdom in the objection to entertain this eternal negro question, pray, let us ask, who raised, who has kept up this eternal negro question?

The negro question was put at rest in 1787 by the fathers of the Republic, and it slept, leaving only for moralists and humanitarians the question of emancipation, a question within the States, and by no means a federal question. Who lifted it up from the States into the area of federal politics? Who but the slaveholders, in 1820? They demanded that not only Missouri should be admitted as a slave State, located within the Louisiana purchase; but that slavery should be declared forever and was forever without declaration of law, established and should prevail

until the end of time, in Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, and in every foot of the then newly acquired domain of the United States? It was the slaveholding power which raised the negro question, and it was the Democratic party which made an alliance with that power, and which, in the North and in Congress, raised this very offensive question, this so very offensive legislation about negroes instead of legislation about white men.

The question was put at rest by the compromise of 1820, when, God be praised, Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska were saved for freedom, and only Arkansas and Missouri, out of the Louisiana purchase, surrendered to slavery; and it slept again for fifteen or twenty years, and then the negro question was again introduced into the councils of the Federal government—and by whom? By the slave power, when it said that "since you have taken Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska, and left us only Missouri, Arkansas and Florida, out of our newly acquired possessions, you must now go on and annex Texas, so that we shall have a balance and counterpoise in this government." Then the Democratic party again were seized with a sudden desire to extend the area of slavery along the Gulf of Mexico; and by way of balancing the triumph of liberty so as to hang manacles and chains on the claws of the conquering eagle of the country!

Who, then, is responsible for the eternal negro question? Still such was the forbearance, the patience, the hope without reason and without justice, of the friends of freedom throughout the United States, that the eternal negro question would have been at rest then, if it had not again been brought forward into the Federal councils in the years 1848 and 1850, when the slave power forced us into a war with Mexico by which we acquired Upper California and New Mexico, and for no other purpose but that, notwithstanding all the advantages which slavery had gained since the Atlantic States were free, now, as a balance, slavery must have the Pacific coast, and so keep up the equilibrium (according to the notions of Mr Calhoun) between free labor and slave labor or between freedom and slavery in the United States.

Thus, on these three different occasions, when the public mind was at rest on the subject of the negro, the slave power forced it upon public consideration and demanded aggressive action. When they had at last secured the consent of the people of the free States to a compromise in 1850, by which it was agreed that California alone might be free, and that New Mexico should be remanded back into a territorial condition because she had not established slavery—then there was but one man in the United States Senate that would vote to accept New Mexico as a Free State when she came with her constitution in her hands; and that man the humble individual who stands before you. [Cheers.] Aye, you applaud me for it now; but where were your votes in 1850? Ah! well; it is all past.

When they had agreed on a compromise, and had driven out of the Senate every man but myself and some half dozen other representatives who had opposed the aggressions of slavery, were they content to let the negro question rest? No, but in 1854 the Democracy raised the negro question to force it finally and forever throughout the whole Republic, by abrogating the Missouri Compromise. They abandoned the Terri-

stories of Kansas and Nebraska to slave labor, and actually assisted and encouraged the armies sent there by the slaveholders, to take forcible possession of territory which, until then, had been free.

O! what pleasure shall I have, in telling the people of Kansas, three days hence, how that when all others were faithless, and false, and timid, they renewed this battle, this standard of freedom, and expelled the intruding slaveholder, and established forever amongst themselves the freedom of labor and the freedom of men on the plains of Kansas.

Were the Democracy then content? Not at all; but they determined in 1858, to raise the negro question once more and to admit Kansas into the Union, if she would have come in as a Slave State, and to keep her out indefinitely if she should elect freedom.

And only one year later, when they found that Kansas was slipping from their clutches, who then raised once more the eternal negro question? The slave power and the administration took it up by demanding the annexation of Cuba, a slaveholding island of Spain, to be acquired at a cost of \$150,000,000, peaceably, if it could be obtained for that sum, and forcibly if it should not be surrendered, for the purpose of adding two slave states, well manned and well appointed, to balance the votes of Kansas and Minnesota, then expected to come into the Union as free states.

Who has brought this issue and entered it on the record of this canvass? The slaveholding party—the Democratic party. They held their Convention first in this campaign at Charleston. They presented again the everlasting negro question, nothing more, nothing less. They differed about the form, but they gave us, nevertheless, the everlasting negro question in two different parts, giving us our choice to take one or the other, as they gave the people of Kansas the choice, whether they would take slavery pure and simple, or take it anyhow and get rid of it afterwards if they could.

Of one part, Mr. Breckinridge is the representative. It is presented plain and distinct; it is that slaves are merchandise and property in the territories under the Constitution of the United States, and that the national legislatures and the courts must protect it in the territories, and no power on earth can discharge them of the responsibility. Of the other, Mr. Douglas is the representative, and the form in which it is presented by those who support him is, What is the best way *not* to keep slavery out of the territories.

I doubt very much whether slaveholders have so great a repugnance to the negro and to the eternal negro question as they affect. On the other hand, being accustomed to sit in the Federal councils, with grave and reverend Senators, and to mingle with representatives of the people from slaveholding States, I find a great difference between myself and them on the subject. God knows, I never would consent to be the unbidden, the unchosen Representative of bondmen! They must be freemen that I represent; every man of them must be a whole man. But my respected friends who represent the slave States are willing, and do most cheerfully, most gladly consent to represent three-fifths of all the negro

slaves. They take a slave at three-fifths of a man, and they represent the three-fifths; I doubt not they would be very glad if he could be created into five-fifths.

Well I think the Democratic party has not so much repugnance to negroes and the negro question, because they consent to take offices of President, Vice-President, Secretary of State, Ministers to Bogota, and to all other parts of the world, Consulships and post offices, that are derived indirectly by adding another link to the chain of States in which negroes count, each one, three-fifths. No, no; slaveholders and the Democratic party would be very glad to take votes from negroes, free or slave, by the head, full count, if negroes and slaves would only vote for Slavery; and it is only because they have a sagacious insight into human nature, which teaches them that negroes and slaves would vote for liberty, that makes the negro question so repulsive to them.

But, fellow citizens, is this one idea, the eternal negro question, so objectionable merely on account of the negro? I think not; I think it far otherwise; for after all, you see that the negro has the least of everybody else in the world, to do with it. The negro is no party to it; he is only an incident; he is a subject of disputes but not one of the litigants. He has just as much to do with it as a horse or a watch in a justice's court, when two neighbors are litigating about its ownership. The horse question or watch question is excellent business for the justice, and lawyers to make fees, and for the neighbors generally to get fun out of; and my friend General Nye was never so happy in his life as when attending suits before justices of the peace, settling this eternal horse question and watch question. (Laughter.)

The controversy is not with the negro at all, but with two classes of white men, one who have a monopoly of negroes, and the other who have no negroes. One is an aristocratic class, that wants to extend itself over the new territories and so retain the power it already exercises; and the other is yourselves, my good friends, men who have no negroes and won't have any, and who mean that the aristocratic system shall not be extended. There is no negro question about it at all. It is an eternal question between classes—between the few privileged and the many unprivileged—the eternal question between aristocracy and democracy.

A sorrowful world this will be when that question shall be put to rest; for when it is, the rest that it shall have, shall be the same it has always had for six thousand years; the riding of the privileged over the necks of the unprivileged, booted and spurred. And the nation that is willing to establish such an aristocracy, and is shamed out of the defense of its own rights, deserves no better fate than that which befalls the timid, the cowardly and the unworthy.

It is to-day in the United States the same question that is filling Hungary, and is lifting the throne of a Czar of Austria from its pedestals; the same which has expelled the tyrant of Naples from the beautiful Sicily, and has driven him from his palace at Naples to seek shelter in his fortress at Gaeta. It is not only an eternal question, but it is a universal question. Every man from a foreign land will find here in Ame-

rica, in another form, the *irrepressible conflict* (Applause) which crushed him out, an exile from his native land.

Again, fellow citizens, I am not quite convinced that it is sound philosophy in anything, at least in politics, to banish the principle of giving paramount importance at any one time to one idea. If a man wishes to secure a good crop of wheat to pay off the debt he owes upon his land, he is seized with one idea in the spring; he plows, plants and sows; he gathers and reaps, with a single leading idea of getting forty bushels to the acre, if he can. If a merchant wishes to be successful, he surrenders himself to the one idea of buying as cheap, and selling as dear as he honestly can. I would not give much for a lawyer who is put in charge of my case, that would suffer himself, when before the jury, to be distracted with a great many pleasing ideas. I want one devoted to my cause. In the church we have a great many clergymen who have a horror of this one idea and the negro question, but I think it was St. Peter who had it made known to him in a vision on the housetop, that he must not have scattered ideas; but there was to be but one idea only, that was of being satisfied with everything else, provided he could only win souls to his Master. And Paul was very much after this spirit; he said he would be all things to all men, provided he could save some souls.

There was in the Revolution one man seized with a terrible fanaticism, propelled by one idea. He scattered terror all through this continent; and when he passed from Boston to the first Congress in Philadelphia, deputations from New York and Philadelphia went out to meet and dissuade this man of one idea, namely, that of national independence. And still John Adams proved, after all, to be a public benefactor. There was, during the Revolution, another man of one idea that appeared to burn in him so ardently that he was regarded as the most dangerous man on the continent; and a triple reward was offered for his head. He actually went so far as to take all the men of one idea in the country, and suffer himself to take command of them. That man was George Washington. His idea was justice, political justice. There was another monomaniac of the same kind down in Virginia; he, at the close of the Revolution, had one idea, an eternal idea, and it even included negroes; and that was the idea of equality. It was Thomas Jefferson. Now, though the State which reared him might be glad if it could erase from his monument at Monticello its sublime inscription, yet the world can never lose that proud and beautiful epitaph, written by himself: "Here lies Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence."

About the year 1805 or 1806, the French Secretary for Foreign Affairs gave a dinner to the American representative at Court, and to American citizens resident there, and there was a large and various party. When the wine flowed freely, and conversation ought to have been general, there was one young man who was possessed with one idea, and he could not rest, but kept continually putting this idea before the minister and the rest of the guests, saying, "If you will only make up for me a purse, or show me a bank that will lend me five thousand dollars, I will put a boat on the Hudson river which will make the passage from New York to Albany at four miles

an hour, without being driven by oars or sails." He was an offensive monomaniac, that Robert Fulton. But still, had it not been for his one idea, Iowa would have slept the last sixty years, and down to the twentieth century, and not one human being before me or within the boundaries of this State would have resided here. What I understand by one idea is this: It simply means that a man, or a people, or a State, is in earnest. They get an idea which they think is useful, and they are in earnest. God save us when we are to abandon confidence in earnest men and take to following trivial men of light minds, confused and scattered ideas, and weak purposes.

Fellow citizens, there is no such thing as government carried out without the intervention, the rising, the exaltation of one idea, and without the activity, guidance and influence of earnest men. You may be listless, indifferent, indolent each one of you; do you therefore get other people to go to sleep? No. You go to sleep, and you will find somebody that has got one idea that you don't like, who will be wide awake. They want to be wide awake on the negro question as long as it pays, and it pays just as long as you will be content to follow their guidance and take several ideas.

Fellow citizens, industry is the result of one idea. I have never heard of idle ones in the beaver's camp, but I do know there are drones in the beehive. Nevertheless, the beaver's camp and the beehive all give evidence of the domination of one idea. The Almighty Power himself could never have made the world, and never govern it, if he had not bent the force and application of the one idea to make it perfect. And when at 7 o'clock in the morning, three months ago, with the almanac in my hand, I stood with my smoked glass between me and the sun to see whether the almanac maker was correct or whether nature vacillated between one idea and another, I was astonished to see that, at the very second of time indicated by the astronomer, the shadow of the moon entered the disk of the sun. There was one idea only in the mind of the Omnipotent Creator that, six thousand, or ten thousand, or twenty thousand, or hundreds of thousands of years ago, set that sun, that moon, and this earth in their places, and subjected them to laws which brought that shadow exactly at this point at that instant of time. Earth is serious; heaven is serious; earth is earnest; heaven is earnest. There is no place for men of scattered and confused ideas in the earth below, or in the heavens above, whatever there may be in places under the earth.

Every one idea has its negative. It has its destinies, its purpose, and it has its negative. So it is with the idea of slavery; it means nothing less, nothing more, nothing different from the extension of commerce or trading in slaves; and in our national system it means the extension of commerce in slaves into regions where that commerce has no right to exist. The negative of that is our right which we are endeavoring to inculcate in your minds, opposition to trading in slaves within those portions of the Territory where slaves are not lawfully a subject of merchandise.

At the time of the compromise of 1820 the Democratic party saw, for they are wise men, and their opponents, Rufus King, John W. Taylor and others in Congress, saw, that there was

an irrepressible conflict between the two ideas of slavery and freedom, or rather between the two sides of one idea. The alternative offered to the Democracy and to all the people of the United States, was a plain one; the slaveholders are strong, are united; there are many slave States and they are agreed in their policy; there are as many free States, but they are divided in opinion. Lend your support to the slave States and you shall have the power, patronage, honors and glory of administering the government of the United States. Some asked, for how long? Wise men cast the horoscope and said forty years; just about that time an infant State shall grow up north of Missouri within the Louisiana purchase, and another shall grow up in Kansas. These forty years the great men I have named seemed few and feeble in numbers; still they would rather have quiet consciences during all the time and postpone honors and rewards for forty years, rather than to take the side of slavery; and the Democratic party reasoning otherwise, said, "Give us the offices and power now; we will hold it the forty years and more if we can."

They say that the "old one" is inexorable; at when he makes a bond he lives up to it, but when the time is up he calls for his own. To Mr. Breckinridge, Mr. Douglas, slave States and all, he says: "I have given you all the rope that was allowed me to give you, now you must go."

Thus, my young friends, for I see many such around me, brings me to a point where I can give you one instruction which, if you practice as long as you live, may make at least some of you great men, honorable men, useful men. Remember that all questions have two sides: one is the right side, and the other the wrong side; one is the side of justice, the other that of injustice; one the side of human nature, the other of crime. If you take the right side, the just side, ultimately men, however much they may oppose you and revile you, will come to your support; earth with all its powers will work with you and for you, and Heaven is pledged to conduct you to complete success. If you take the other side, there is no power in earth or heaven that can lead you through successfully, because it is appointed in the councils of heaven that justice, truth and reason alone can prevail. This instruction would be incomplete if I were not to add one other, that indifference between right and wrong is nothing else than taking the wrong side. The policy of a great leader of the Democratic party in the North is indifference; it is nothing to him whether slavery is voted up or voted down in the Territories. Thus it makes no difference to that distinguished statesman whether slavery is voted up or voted down in the new States; whether they all become slave States or free States.

Let us see how this would have worked in the revolution. If Jefferson had been indifferent as to whether Congress voted up the Declaration of Independence or voted it down, what kind of a time would they have had with it. Patrick Henry would have been after him with a vigilance committee, and he would have no monument over his remains. The British Government would have liked nothing better than a lot of such indifferent men for leaders of the American people, and George the Third and his dynasty

might have had rule over this continent for a thousand years to come.

I have thus removed the preliminary objection always interposed on these occasions against the indulgence of the eternal negro question. What is the just and right national policy with regard to slavery in the territories and in the new States of the Federal Union? and your decision of that subject will involve the consideration of what you consider to be the natural constituents of a state.

I suppose I may infer from your choosing this beautiful land on the western bank of the Mississippi that you all want to make Iowa a great and good state, a flourishing and prosperous state. You consider the development of the latent resources with which nature has supplied the region on which you build a state, as one of the material things to be considered in building up a great state; that is to say, you will have the forests subjugated and make them contribute the timber and lumber for the house, for the city, for the wharf, for the steamer, for the ship of war, and for all the purposes of civilized society. Then I think you will consider that if the land has concealed within it, deposits of iron, or lead, or coal, you will think of getting this out as rapidly as you can, so as to increase the public wealth. Then I think that you will have the same idea about states everywhere else that you have about Iowa; and that your first idea about the way to make a state corresponds with my idea to make a great nation. And as you would subdue the forests, would develop the lead, iron and coal in your region; as you would improve the fields, putting ten oxen to a plow to turn up the prairie, and then plant it with wheat and corn; as you would encourage manufactures, and try, by making railways and telegraphs, to facilitate interchange of products; it is exactly this I propose to do for every new state like Iowa, that is to be admitted into the Federal Union. To be sure we shall leave the slave states, which are all in the Union, as they are; our responsibilities are limited to the states which are yet to come into the Union, and we will apply our system to them. The first question, then, in making a state, is to favor the industry of the people, and industry is favored in every land exactly as it is free and uncrippled.

We are a great nation; we have illimitable forests in the far East and on the banks of the upper waters of the Mississippi, around the lakes and on the Pacific coast. No human arithmetic could compute the amount of materials of the forest that have gone into the aggregate of the wealth which this nation possesses. At this day there is not one foot of timber, not one foot of dealboards, not a lath, not a shingle, entering into the commerce of the United States that is fabricated by a slave.

You all have an idea, or had in the land from which you came here, of the value and importance of the fisheries, of making the ocean surrender its treasures to increase the national wealth. The fisherman is seen in the winter time fishing for ice in the ponds and lakes of Massachusetts; and if you go to Palestine or to Grand Cairo or to the furthest Indies, you will find yourself regaled with ice fished out of the lakes and ponds of Massachusetts. But ice is not a product that goes far to the support of human life;

but can you tell me what portions of the earth are lighted on their way by night, at home in their cities, by the produce of their fisheries? Have you any idea of how much the great machinery of the country engaged in fabrication of goods and in navigation is indebted to the fisheries? Those of the United States are a great source of national wealth; and a nursery of seamen for the commercial marine and naval service of the United States, indispensable for the development of the resources of a great people. There is not now and there never was a lake or river, sea or bay, over the whole world, from the Arctic to the Antarctic pole, a negro slave fisherman.

You have been very indifferent about these subjects; you have not taken notice of that. It was only two years ago, only by constant watchfulness and activity of the friendly representatives of the free States in Congress, that the whole protection of the United States was not withdrawn from the fisheries. The slaveholders don't want ice to be gathered with free soil hands; they would rather have it taken from the lakes and rivers of Russia. They don't want the fisheries conducted by free hands; they would rather take their supplies from foreign markets. The fisheries are somewhat foreign for you, but the quarries are not—the granite and the marble out of which our capitol is being constructed, our great cities erected, some of it in your own beautiful city. Have you any idea of how large a portion of the national wealth is extracted from the quarries of granite and marble, and freestone? It is beyond any arithmetic to compute. Yet there is not a slave engaged in a quarry in the United States. Have you any slaves down your shafts in your lead mine here? Not one. Have you any slaves in your coal mines? Not one. Any in your iron mines? Not one. Pennsylvania is being burrowed all through and through in all directions, and the iron and coal taken out and fabricated. There is not a single slave, nor was there ever one, that raised his hand to add to that supply of national wealth. On the other hand, you have in Maryland and in Virginia deposits of coal and iron, as rich, aye, and of gold, too; and yet in Maryland and Virginia, in their iron, coal, and silver mines, the work is mainly done by freemen.

I need not speak of manufactures; the African slave is reduced to a brute, as nearly as may be, and he is incompetent to weave, to cast a shuttle, to turn a wheel, to grease or oil a wheel and keep it in motion. In all the vast manufacturing establishments in the United States; in all the establishments of the forests and of the fisheries, or of manufactures throughout the whole world, there is not one African slave to be found. California rejected the labor of slaves, and well she did so; for if she had invited and courted it, her mines, instead of yielding fifty millions of gold per year to the commerce of the United States, would be yielding nothing.

Could a man subsist in Iowa by cultivating wheat or corn with slave labor? If not, they tell us this is a question altogether of economy, and that men have no idea of justice. No man has ever brought or ever thinks of bringing an African slave here; the reason is a moral one; that slave labor don't pay, and only free labor will.

Commerce is of two kinds, domestic and foreign. The commerce down the Mississippi and

up, commerce across the railroads with New York, is domestic commerce; the commerce across the ocean with foreign nations, is the foreign commerce. In New Orleans I found that sixteen thousand men were engaged in domestic trading on the river between New Orleans and the up country in the Mississippi valley. How many of them were slaves? Not one. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, New York, Michigan, send the boatmen who conduct the commerce even in slave States, while on all the oceans there is not a slave engaged in commerce.

Now the three great wheels of national wealth are agriculture, including the subjugation of the forests, manufactures and trade. Slaves are unfit, African slaves are absolutely unfit to be employed in turning either of these wheels; and it thus enters into the elements of a great and prosperous state that its people shall not be slaves but freemen.

The reason is obvious; it is the interest of the freeman to cultivate himself as well as he can, to produce the most he can, at the least cost; and it is the interest of the slave to be as disqualified as he can, to consume as much as he can, and produce as little more than he consumes as possible.

It is not wealth alone that makes a nation. It must have strength and power to command, by the mere signification of its will, peace and good order at home and respect and confidence abroad. Just imagine the United States converted into planting States in which the labor was performed only by negro slaves, and judge, if you can, what would be the police power of the government in any of the States. The laborer in a slave State is watched night and morning; his outgoings, his incomings, his path is surrounded by a police; he can pass to execute the order of his master only on a permit or license. Why, he must retire to sleep at nine or ten at night, and must not be abroad from the plantation without a special license, for no other reason than, being held in involuntary bondage, his master regards him as an enemy to be watched.

Turn a whole nation into masters watching slaves, and slaves regarded as natural enemies—what is the power of that nation to preserve peace at home? What its power to command respect abroad? Make us for once a nation of slave States, and any feeble, worthless power in Europe has only to apply the torch of insurrection and civil war by proposing to emancipate our slaves; instead of relying on ourselves we would want to make a federal union with Canada, that we might get protection, just as the free States now protect the slave States.

But all these—material wealth and power—are but low ideas of what constitute a nation. It should have a head, an enlightened head; an open, free, manly, honest heart. Such will enable any man or woman to go through the world with safety. A nation is only an aggregate of individuals, of so many heads to work as one head; of so many hearts to work as one heart. You want an enlightened free people to constitute a nation; and if you have such a people, they are perpetually reducing the labor, the sacrifice, and toil of muscle; and if it be true, as theologians say, that labor is the primal curse imposed by the Maker on man for disobedience, then this benevolent heart and enlightened head will suggest all manner of machines to relieve

them of the necessity of so much labor. The poor widow, who, to eke out a subsistence, has to sew for her neighbors, will, with a machine that costs but from fifty to one hundred dollars—the invention of a free people—make fifty garments where before she made but one. And the steam engine—it plows, plants, sows and harvests; it threshes, it gathers into the granaries; it hauls the cars loaded with produce; it drives the steamboat on the river. That is what invention does. Now, out of the million inventions which the American people enjoy, there is not one that was made by a slave, and simply because the slave is imbruted in his heart and stupefied in his intellect.

A nation to be great wants character—character for justice, honesty, integrity; for ability to maintain its own rights and respect for the rights of others. That it cannot have, if it be a nation of slaves. It is only a nation of freemen that can cultivate the virtues which constitute a character. These virtues are two: Justice, equal and exact justice among men; the equal freedom and liberty of every other man. The other virtue is courage. The freeman has no enemies; he is just; he oppresses nobody; nobody wishes to be revenged upon him. A nation of freemen are safe; they provoke nobody; they wrong nobody; they covet nothing; they keep the tenth commandment. And nations must keep the commandments as well as individuals, or suffer the same penalty.

But you cannot have these virtues except on one condition, and that is that the people of the nation are trained up in them. And how trained? By schools and general instruction, free press, free debate at home, and in legislative councils; and everywhere to be undisturbed as they go in and come out. Introduce slavery in Iowa, and what kind of freedom of speech would you enjoy? What kind of freedom of the press? freedom of bridges? of taverns? Just look across the State of Missouri into Kansas, and you will find freedom of the press, provided you will maintain that property is above labor, that slavery is before all constitutions and governments—that freedom of speech which sought the expulsion of John Quincy Adams from the Congress of the United States, for presenting a petition in favor of human rights; the freedom of debate which arrested my distinguished and esteemed friend, Charles Sumner, in the midst of a glorious and useful career, and doomed him to wander a sufferer and invalid for four years. As for freedom of bridges, why the bridge over the Missouri at Kansas was proved to be only a bridge for slave State men; and the tavern at Lawrence was subverted for a nuisance on account of its being a tavern at which free State men could stop.

It is a bright September afternoon, and a strange feeling of surprise comes over me that I should be here in the State of Iowa—the State redeemed and saved in the compromise of 1820—a State peopled by freemen—that I should be here in such a State, before such a people, exploring the citizens of Iowa to maintain the cause of Freedom instead of the cause of Slavery. It is a strange change from the position I was in only a year ago. In Italy, in Austria, in Turkey even, I was excusing, in the best way I could, the monstrous delinquencies of the American people in tolerating slavery, which even the

Turk had abrogated. You tell me that it is unnecessary; that you are all right; I happen to know better. That courtesy which I appreciate, suavity which I acknowledge, restricts some, many in this assembly from interrupting these remarks (though they are intended to be disrespectful to nobody) as I have often been interrupted, with shouts of—"Hurrah for Douglas;" and yet, if I am right in what I have said, the Wide-Awakes are not up an hour too soon; they do not sit up any too late o' nights; their zeal is not a bit too strong to save the State of Iowa from giving her votes, in the present canvass, for a continuance of that administration which has for forty years, made slavery the cardinal institution, and freedom secondary to it in the United States. There is something of excuse and apology for this; it is in the reluctance which men who are always opposed to one new idea coming in, have to give up the old idea, which they have so long cherished. The Democratic party has a wonderful affection for the name; the *prestige* of the Democratic party; and most of them, fellow citizens, must die unconverted. It is not in human nature that adult men and women change their opinions with facility; it is little ones like these that grow up unobserved and unknown. Ten thousand of their votes enter into every successive canvass in the State of Iowa.

In every State the great reformation which has been made within the last six years—for we date no further back than that—has been the dying out of the one-idea men of Democracy and the growing up of the young one-idea men of Republicanism. And now why shall we not insist, so far as our votes shall be effective, that the territories shall remain free territories, so that new States which shall hereafter be added to this Union shall be Free States.

They say we have no right to interfere in the slave States; that we attack slavery in them. Not at all. We do not vote against slavery in Virginia. We do not authorize Abraham Lincoln or the Congress of the United States to pass any laws about slavery in Virginia. We merely authorize them to intervene in the Territories, and to pass laws securing freedom there. They tell us that it is unnecessary. They have rendered it necessary, because they have explained the laws and the constitution to establish slavery there, and we must either restrict slavery there or reverse the decision made by the federal tribunal. But they tell us that this is inconvenient; it excites violence in the slave States. To which I answer that they have the choice between slavery and freedom as well as we; but they must be content to leave it where it is. When they choose to carry slaves into the Territories we interfere. What we are attacking is not slavery in the United States, but slavery in the Territories.

But they tell us that we are suffering very great harm; that our Southern friends, driven angry, will not buy of us. Mayor Wood made the discovery that we are a trading people, and we shall lose our trade if the Republican party come into power. We are a trading people as we are an eating people, a drinking people, a clothes wearing people. Trade! trade! trade! the great character, the great employment, the one idea of the American people! It is a libel. We buy only with what we produce. We buy

and sell, but that is merely incidental to our greater occupation of producing and making; and even these are subordinate to our great notion of educating and cultivating ourselves to make a great, virtuous and happy people. Trade, however, for those who engage in it, knows no respect of opinion; the southern planters will buy their cotton bagging of the men who will make it the cheapest, and they will insist on selling cotton to the Castle Garden committees and the Cooper Institute patriots at precisely the same price as they will to Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass. They won't buy your wheat unless hungry for bread; and if hungry for bread they will gladly give you for it any surplus of cotton you want. (Laughter.)

Fellow citizens, I have refrained from advertising to the higher sentiments of humanity which enter into the consideration of this subject, because those are considerations that are always

with you. I will now say that the suggestions of justice are always in harmony with the suggestions and impulses of humanity, and that both spring from the same source. Nature herself seems to be forbearing; she seems to be passive and silent. She lets nations as she lets individuals go on in their course of action, violating her laws; but this is for a season only. The time comes at last when Nature unerringly vindicates every right, and punishes every wrong, of the actions of men or states; and when she does come we are punished. She comes in terror, in revolution, in anarchy, in chaos. You will let this government and this nation slide down still further the smooth declivity if you choose; nature will bring it back again in due time with convulsions which will wake the sighs and groans of the civilized world. (Loud applause.)

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## GOVERNOR SEWARD'S

### REMARKS ON HIS RECEPTION AT MADISON,

September 11, 1860.

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The reception of Gov. SEWARD here was more imposing than at any place on the route. Three Military Companies, the Fire Department, the Turners and the Wide-Awakes, escorted him into the city.

He was welcomed by the Governor and the Mayor. His reply was brief, and characterized by deep feeling. In the course of it, he said:

It has been by a simple rule of interpretation I have studied the Constitution of my country. That rule has been simply this: That by no word, no act, no combination into which I might enter, should any one human being of all the generations to which I belong, much less any class of human beings of any nation, race, or kindred, be oppressed and kept down in the least degree in their efforts to rise to a higher state of liberty and happiness. [Applause.] Amid all the glosses of the times, amid all the essays and discussions to which the Constitution of the Uni-

ted States has been subjected, this has been the simple, plain, broad light in which I have read every article and every section of that great instrument. Whenever it requires of me that this hand shall keep down the humblest of the human race, then I will lay down power, place, position, fame, everything rather than adopt such a construction of such a rule. [Applause] If, therefore, in this land there are any who would rise, I say to them, in God's name, good speed! If there are in foreign lands people who would improve their condition by emigration, or if there be any here who would go abroad in search of happiness, in the improvement of their condition, or in their elevation toward a higher state of dignity and happiness, they have always had, and they always shall have, a cheering word and such efforts as I can consistently make in their behalf. [Applause.]

# Senator Seward's Western Tour.

## S P E E C H

BY

# WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

AT

CHICAGO, OCTOBER 3, 1860.

Hail to the State of Illinois! whose iron roads form the spinal column of that system of internal continental trade which surpasses all the foreign commerce of the country, and has no parallel or imitation in any other country on the face of the globe

Hail Chicago! the heart which supplies life to this great system of railroads—Chicago, the last and most wonderful of all the marvelous creations of civilization in North America.

Hail to this council chamber of the great Republican party! justly adapted by its vastness and its simplicity to its great purposes—the hall where the representatives of freemen framed that creed of Republican faith, which carries healing for the relief of a disordered nation. Woe! woe! be to him who shall add to or shall subtract one word from that simple, sublime, truthful, beneficent creed.

Hail to the Representatives of the Republican party, chosen here by the Republicans of the United States, and placed upon the platform of that creed. Happy shall he be who shall give them his suffrage. If he be an old man, he shall show the virtue of wisdom acquired by experience; if he be a young man, he shall in all his coming years, tell his fellow men with pride, "I too voted for Abraham Lincoln." [Great applause]

Fellow citizens, that Republican creed is, nevertheless, no partisan creed. It is a National faith, because it is the embodiment of the one life-sustaining, life-expanding idea of the American republic. What is the idea more or less than simply this: That civilization is to be maintained and carried on upon this continent by Federal States, based upon the principles of free soil, free labor, free speech, equal rights and universal suffrage? [Loud applause.]

Fellow citizens, this is no new idea. This idea had its first utterance, and the boldest and clear-

est of all the utterances it has ever received, in the very few words that were spoken by this nation when it came before the world, took its place upon the stage of human action, and asserting its independence in the fear of God, and in full confidence of the approval of mankind; declared that henceforth it held those to be its enemies, who should oppose it in war, and those to be its friends who should maintain with it relations of peace. That utterance was expressed in these simple words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal, and have inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This great national idea has been working out its fruits ever since. Its work is seen in the perfect acceptance of it by eighteen of the thirty-four States of the Union—or seventeen of the thirty-three, if Kansas is to be considered out. It is asserting itself in the establishment of new States throughout the West, as it has revolutionized and is revolutionizing all of Western and Southern Europe. Why is this idea so effective? It is because it is the one chief, living, burning, inextinguishable thought of human nature itself, entertained by man in every age and in every clime.

Fellow citizens, this national idea works not unopposed. Every good and virtuous and benevolent principle in nature has its antagonist, and this great national idea works in perpetual opposition—I may be allowed to say in irrepressible conflict—[Prolonged applause]—with an erroneous, a deceitful, a delusive idea. Do you ask what that delusive idea is? It is the idea that civilization ought and can be effected on this continent, through this form of federal States, based on the principle of slave labor—of African slave labor, of unequal rights and unequal representation, resulting in unequal suffrage.

[Here there was much tumult and confusion,

owing to efforts of those beyond the reach of his voice to hear, drowning the speaker's voice.]

Fellow citizens: Can it be that this great creed of ours needs exposition or defense? It seems to me so evidently just and true that it requires no exposition and needs no defense. Certainly in foreign countries it needs none. In Scotland, or France, or Germany, or Russia, on the shores of the Mediterranean, in Europe, or in Asia, or in Africa, you will never find one human being who denies the truth and the justice of this national idea of the equality of man.

[Here the tumult became so great that the speaker was compelled to pause. Mr. Arnold coming forward, urged upon all to be as quiet as possible. Those who were out of reach of Mr. Seward's voice, and desired to hear other speakers, could do so at the various stands and at the Wigwam. He thought it must be very painful to the distinguished speaker to witness such a disturbance.]

Gov. SEWARD: Fellow citizens, do not suppose that this disturbance, which I know is involuntary on your part, gives me any pain whatever. [Applause.] There is no pressure here which an honest man need regret. I only regret that I have not voice enough to reach the whole of this vast assembly, or even the twentieth part of it. I will proceed, trusting that something I may say will reach the ears of most of the assemblage. As necessarily I must change my position as I speak to make you hear me, addressing first this side and then that, no one will, I fear, be able to preserve the connection of my remarks, except myself—and he is a very fortunate speaker who does that. [Laughter.]

I was speaking of this national idea—that it needs no exposition anywhere. It is one of those propositions that when addressed to thoughtful men needs no explanation or defense. And why not?

Here we can see for ourselves this mean and miserable rivulet of black African slavery, stealing along turbid and muddy as it is drawn from its stagnant source in the slave States; we see that it is pestilential in the atmosphere it passes through; we can see how inadequate it is and unfit to irrigate a whole continent with the living waters of health and life; we can see how it is that everything on its banks withers and droops; while on the other hand, we can also see this broad flood of free labor as it descends the mountain sides in torrents, and is gathered in rivers, increasing in volume and power, and spreading itself all abroad. We can well see by the effects it has already produced, how it irrigates and must continue to irrigate this whole continent; how every good and virtuous plant lives and breathes by its support. We see the magical fertility which results from its presence, because it is around us and before us always.

We sometimes, fellow citizens, hear an argument for a political proposition made in this form: One offers to "take a thing to be done by the job." Let us imagine for a moment that there could be one man bold enough, great enough, and wise enough to take "by the job" the work of establishing civilization over this broad continent of North America. He would, of course, want to do it in the shortest time, at the cheapest expense, and in the best manner. Now, would such a man ever dream of im-

porting African barbarians; or of taking their children or descendants in this country to build up and people great Free States all over this land, from the Alleghany Mountains to the Pacific Ocean? Would he not, on the contrary, accept, as the rightful, natural, healthful, and best possible agency which he could select, the free labor of free men, the minds, the thoughts, the wills, the purposes, the ambitions of enlightened freemen, such as we claim ourselves to be? would he not receive all who claim to aid in such services as these whether they were born on this soil, or cradled in foreign lands?

I care not, fellow citizens, when reckless men say in the heat of debate, or under the influence of interest, passion or prejudice, that it is a matter of indifference whether slavery shall pervade the whole land, or a part of the land, and freedom the residue—that freedom and slavery may take their chances—that they "don't care whether slavery is voted up or down." There is no man who has an enlightened conscience who is indifferent on the subject of human bondage. [Applause.] There is no man who is enlightened and honest, who would not abate some considerable part of his worldly wealth, if he could thereby convert this land from a land cursed in whole or in part with slavery, into a land of equal and impartial liberty [cheers]; and I will tell you how I know this: I know it, because every man demands freedom for himself, and refuses to be a slave. No free man, who is a man, would consent to be a slave; every slave who has any manhood in him, desires to be free; no man who has an unperverted reason does not lament, condemn and deplore the practice of commerce in man. The executioner is always odious, even though his task is necessary to the administration of justice. We turn with horror and disgust from him who wields the axe. So the slaveholder turns with disgust from the auctioneer who sells the man and woman whom he has reared and held in slavery, although he receives the profits of the sale into his own coffers.

I know this national idea of ours is just and right for another reason; it is that in the whole history of society, human nature has never, never honored one man who reduced another man to bondage. The world is full of monuments in honor of men who have delivered their fellow men from slavery.

Since this idea is self-evidently just, and is of itself pure, peaceable, easy to be entreated and full of good works, will you tell me why it is that it has not been fully accepted by the American people? Alas! that it should be so. Perhaps I can throw light on that by asking another question: Is not Christianity pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, and full of good works? and yet is not the church of Jesus Christ still a church militant? Alas! that it should be so. Christianity explains for herself how it is that she is rejected of men. She says it is because men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. I shall not say this in regard to the subject of freedom. I know better; I know that my countrymen love light—not darkness. They are even in the state and disposition of the Roman Governor, "almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian," and almost the American people are persuaded to be Republican. [Cheers and laughter.] Why, then

are they not *altogether* persuaded? The answer cannot be given without some reflection. It involves an examination of our national conduct and life.

The reason why the country is only almost and not altogether persuaded to be Republican, is because the national sense and judgment have been perverted. We inherited slavery; it is organized into our national life—into our forms of government. It exists among us, unsuspected in its evils, because we have become accustomed, through national habit, to endure and tolerate slavery. The effect of this habit arising from the presence of slavery, is to produce a want of moral courage among the people and an indisposition to entertain and examine the subject. It is not, however, the fault of the people. This lack of moral courage is chiefly the fault of the political representatives of the people. In every district in the United States, and for every seat in Congress, the people might select men apparently as brave, as truthful, as fearless and as firm as Owen Lovejoy. [Applause.]

You may fill the halls of Congress with men from all the Free States who seem to be as reliable as Owen Lovejoy; but on the clangor of the slavery bugle in the hall they begin to waver and fail. They retire. They suffer themselves to be demoralized; and they return to demoralize the people. Slavery never hesitates to raise the clangor of the trumpets to terrify the timid.

Slavery has, too, another argument for the timid than terror; it is power. The concentration of Slavery gives it a fearful political power. You know how long it has been the controlling power in the Executive Department of the Government. Slavery uses that power, as might be expected—to punish those who oppose it, to reward those who serve it. All representatives are naturally ambitious; all representatives like fame; if they do not like pecuniary rewards, they like the distinctions of place. They like to be popular. When the people are demoralized, he who is constant becomes offensive and obnoxious; he loses position and the party chooses some other representative who will be less obnoxious. These demoralized representatives inculcate among the people pernicious lessons and sustain themselves by adopting compromises. They compromise so far, if possible, as to save place and a show of principle; they save themselves first, and let freedom take what remains.

A community thus demoralized by its representatives is fearful of considering the subject of Slavery at all. It does not like to look back upon its record; it does not dare to look forward to see what are to be the consequences of errors. It desires peace and quiet. We shall see in a moment what fearful sacrifices have been made under the influence of this demoralization by the power of the government.

The first act of demoralization was to surrender the Territory of Arkansas and the Territory of Missouri to slavery, and also by implication all the rest of the Territory of Louisiana acquired by purchase from France, that lay south of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude. Take up your maps when you go home, and see what a broad belt of country, lying south of that line, was surrendered, with the States of Missouri and Arkansas, to slavery. Next, under the influence of this same demoralization, the whole of the peninsula of Florida,

acquired from Spain, was surrendered to slavery, rendering it practically useless for all the national purposes for which it was acquired, making it a burden instead of a blessing, a danger instead of a national safeguard in the Gulf of Mexico.

Then Texas was surrendered to slavery and brought in with the gratuitous agreement that four slave States should be made out of that Territory. Next, in 1850, Utah and New Mexico were abandoned to slavery. After these events, following in quick succession, came the abrogation, in the year 1854, of the restriction contained in the Missouri Compromise, by which it had been stipulated that all north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, excepting the State of Missouri, should be dedicated to freedom. That was abandoned to slavery to take it if she could get it; and the administration of the government of the United States, with scarcely a protest from the people, went on to favor its occupancy by Slavery. As a legitimate consequence came the refusal, on the part of the national government—for it was a practical refusal—to admit Kansas into the Union because she would not accept slavery.

After this demoralization had been carried out in these measures, what right had the nation to be surprised when the President and the Supreme Court at last pronounced that which in no previous year either of them would have dared to assert—that this Constitution of ours is not a Constitution of Liberty, but that it is a Constitution of human bondage; that slavery is the normal condition of the American people on each acre of the domain of the United States not organized into States—that is to say, that wherever this banner of ours, this star spangled banner, whose glories we celebrate so highly—wherever this banner floats over a national ship or a national Territory, there is a land, not of freedom, but of slavery!

Hence it has followed, that the nation up to 1854 surrendered all the unoccupied portions of this continent to Slavery, and thereby practically excluded freemen—because experience shows that when you have made a slave Territory, freedom avoids it; just as much as when you make a free State, like Kansas, slavery disappears from it.

I have said that the country was demoralized by its political representatives; but these political representatives have their agents. All men necessarily fall into some political party, and into some political parties and religious sects. To gain office in a political party and share its favors, when the nation was demoralized, it became necessary that the candidate should be tolerant of slavery. So religious sects were ambitious to extend their ecclesiastical sway. The consequence was that year by year slavery had party upon party; slavery had religious sect upon religious sect; church after church. But alas! until the dawn of that year freedom had no party and no religious sect throughout this whole country.

A people who are demoralized are easily operated upon; they are easily kept persistently in the same erroneous habit which has demoralized them. The first agency for continuing to extend the power of slavery upon this continent, is that of alarm. Fears of all kinds are awakened in the public mind. The chief of them is the fear

of turbulence, of disorder, of civil commotions, and of civil war. The slaveholders in the Slave States very justly, and truthfully, and rightfully assume that slaves are the natural enemies of their masters; and, of course, that slaves are insidious enemies of the State which holds them, or requires them to be held in bondage; that insidious enemies are dangerous; and, therefore, in every Slave State that has ever been founded in this country, a policy is established which suppresses freedom of speech and freedom of debate, so far as liberty needs advocates, while it extends the largest license of debate to those who advocate the interests of Slavery. This lack of freedom of speech and freedom of debate is followed in Slave States by the necessary consequence, that there is no freedom of suffrage. So that at the last Presidential election—the first when this question was ever distinctly brought before the American people—there were no Slave States in which a ballot-box was open for freedom, or wherein free men might cast their ballots with safety. If one side only is allowed to vote in a State, it is very easy to see that that side must prevail. [Laughter and applause.]

If the condition of civil society is such that voting is not to be done safely, few men will vote. Every man who wishes to express his choice is not expected to be a martyr. The world produces but few men willing to be martyrs, my friends, and I am sorry to say they have not been very numerous in our day. Nearly one-half of the United States, then—that is, all the Slave States, are at once to be arrayed on the side of slavery; and behold then! they tell us that Republicanism, which invites them to discuss the subject, is sectional, and they are national. But the Slave States are not willing to rest content with this exclusion of all freedom of suffrage, of speech and of debate on the subject of Slavery within their own jurisdiction, but they require the free States to accept the same system for themselves. They insist that although they may be able at home to keep down their slaves, if we will be quiet, yet they cannot tolerate a discussion of Slavery in the Free States, as we thereby encourage the slaves in the Slave States to insurrection and sedition. This argument might fail to reach and convince us, inasmuch as we ourselves, are safe from any danger of insurrection in the Slave States.

But they bring it home to our fears by declaring that their peace is of more importance than the interest of the nation; that they prefer Slavery even to Union; that if we will not acquiesce in allowing them to maintain, fortify and extend Slavery on equal terms, then they will dissolve the Union, and we will all go down together, or we will all suffer a common desolation. There are few men—and there ought to be few—who would be so intent on the subject of establishing Freedom that they would consent to a subversion of the Union to produce it, because the Union is a positive benefit, nay, an absolute necessity, and to save the Union, men may naturally dare to delay. Most men, therefore, very cheerfully prefer to let the subject of Slavery rest for some better time—for some better occasion—for some more fortunate circumstances, and they are content to keep the Union with Slavery if it cannot be kept otherwise.

You see how this has worked in demoralizing the American people. Less than thirty years

ago the Governor of Massachusetts—that first and freest of the States—actually recommended the Legislature to pass laws which would declare that the meetings of citizens held to discuss the subject of Slavery should be deemed seditious, and should be dissolved by the police! The Governor of the State of New York, who preceded me in that high office, during his administration, and within your own lifetime and mine, actually made the same recommendation to the Legislature of that State. What was recommended, but not carried out in those States by law, became a custom and practice; for, as you know, when the laws did not dissolve the public assembly, there was a period of near twenty years in which no public meeting of men opposed to the extension or aggrandizement of Slavery, could be held without being dispersed by the mob, acting in concert with the general opinion of the country.

When the people of the Free States were thus demoralized, what wonder is it, that for twelve years all debates on the subject of slavery or the presentation of the subject by the people even in the form of a petition, was repressed and trampled under foot, and remained there until John Quincy Adams at last rallied a party around him, strong enough to restore freedom of debate in the House of Representatives! What wonder is it that within the last year, in the very face of the organization, and the onward march of the Republican party, the administration of the Federal Government has actually, by its officers, appointed in compliance with the dictation of the slaveholders, abandoned the Federal mails to the inspection and surveillance of the magistrates of the slave States; so that they may abstract and commit to the flames every word that any man may speak, however eloquent, able, truthful or moderate, in the Halls of Congress against slavery and in favor of freedom.

This, fellow citizens, is your Government. This is the condition in which you are placed. I am sorry to say—but I like to be truthful—that I have no especial compliments for you of the State of Illinois, on this subject; for in this long catalogue of extraordinary concessions to slavery, under the impulse of fear, I think the very first protest that ever came from the State of Illinois was as late as the year 1855; after all these atrocious concessions had been made, and we were brought to the necessity of going back and undoing mischief that had been done. You sent two senators to Congress; you insisted upon extending the Wilmot Proviso over the territory acquired from Spain. How did they do it? They voted for the Wilmot Proviso under your instructions, and they voted against it without instructions when it came to the practical test. I think you made no protest until Mr. Douglas demanded one single and last concession “for the purpose,” as he said, “of excluding the whole subject from Congress.” That was the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, containing the restrictions for the protection of freedom in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. Then you sent a noble representative to the Senate in the person of Judge Trumbull. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

A voice—“We’ll send him again.”

Yes, send him again.

“We will;” “we will.”

I marveled when I rose here before you to

day and saw this immense assemblage, which no edifice but only the streets of Chicago could hold. [Cheers and laughter], and I wondered how it would have been had I come here in 1850, or even down at any later day before the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise.

But, fellow-citizens, let by-gones be by-gones. I have seen the time when I had as little courage and as little resolution on this subject as most of you. [Laughter.] I was born into the demoralization—I was born a slaveholder, and have some excuse, which you have not. All these things were done, not because you loved slavery, but because you loved the Union.

When slavery became identical in the public mind with the Union, how natural it was, even for patriotic men, to approve of, or to at least excuse and tolerate slavery. How odious did it become for men to be Free-soilers and be regarded as Abolitionists, when to be an Abolitionist was, in the estimation of mankind, to be a traitor to one's country. How natural was it then to believe that slavery after all might not be so very bad, and to believe that it might be necessary and might be right at some time, or on some occasion which times and occasions were always a good way off from themselves; especially, how natural was it, when the whole Christian Church, with all its sects, bent itself to the support of the Union, mistaking the claim of slavery for the cause of the Union.

How extensive this proscription for the sake and in the name of Union, has been and is to this day, you will see at once when I tell you that there is not in this whole Republic, from one end of it to the other, a man who maintains that slavery shall not be extended, who can secure, at the hands of his country, any part in the administration of its government from a tide-waiter in the Custom House, or a Postmaster in a rural district, to a Secretary of State, a Minister in a foreign court, or a President of the United States. How could you expect that a people, every one of whom is born with a possible chance, and a fair expectation of being something—perhaps President of the United States—would resist the demoralization prosecuted by such means? And when it becomes a heresy, for which a man is deprived of position in an ecclesiastical sect to which he belongs, how could you expect that the members of the Christian churches would be bold enough to provoke the censure of the Christian world? Above all, our Constitution intended to give us, our frame of government, as we have always supposed, was so established, that it did give us a judiciary which cannot err, which must be infallible, and must not be disputed; and when the Judicial authority, which has the army and the navy, through the direction of the Executive power, to execute its judgments and decrees, pronounces that every appeal made for freedom is seditious, that every syllable in defense of liberty is treason, and the natural sympathy we feel for the oppressed is to be punished as a crime; while that body is unwilling, or at least unable to bring to punishment one single culprit out of the thousand of pirates who bring away slaves from Africa to sell in foreign lands—how could you expect a simple agricultural people such as we are, to be so much wiser and better than our Presidents and Vice-Presidents, Sena-

tors and Representatives in Congress, and even our Judges?

I have brought you down, fellow citizens, to the time when this demoralization was almost complete. How assured its ultimate success seemed, after the compromise of 1850, you will learn from a fact which I have never before mentioned, but which I will now: Horace Mann, one of the noblest champions of freedom on this continent, confessed to me, after the passage of the slavery laws of that year, that he despaired of the cause of humanity. In 1854, after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, without producing so much alarm as a considerable thunder storm would do in the nation, there was only one man left who hoped against the prevailing demoralization and who cheered and sustained me through it; and that man, in his zeal to make his prediction just, was afterwards betrayed so far by his zeal that he became ultimately a monomaniac and suffered on the gallows. That was John Brown. [Sensation.] The first and only time I ever saw him was when he called upon me after the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, and asked me what I thought of the future. I said I was saddened and disappointed. I would persevere, but it was against hope. He said, "Cheer up, Governor; the people of Kansas will not accept slavery; Kansas will never be a slave State." [Great applause.]

I took then a deliberate survey of the broad field; I considered all; I examined and considered all the political forces which were revealed to my observation. I saw that freedom in the future States of this continent was the necessity of this age, and of this country. I saw that the establishment of this as a Republic, conservative of the rights of human nature, was the cause of the whole world; and I saw that the time had come when men, and women, and children were departing from their homes in the eastern States, and were followed or attended by men, women and children from the European nations—all of them crowded out by the pressure of population upon subsistence in the older parts of the world, and all making their way up the Hudson River, through the Erie Canal, along the railroads, by the way of the Lakes, spreading themselves in a mighty flood, over Michigan, Iowa, Indiana, and Illinois, and even to the banks of the Mississippi. I knew that these emigrants were planting a town every day, and a State every three years, heedless and unconcerned as they were, thinking only of provision for their immediate wants, of shelter and lands to till in the West—I knew the interest they would have when they should get here, and that was, that they should own the land themselves. [Cries of "good, good," and applause]—that slaves should not come into competition with them here. [Renewed applause.]

So, as they passed by me, steamboat load after steamboat load, and railroad train after railroad train, though they were the humblest and perhaps the least educated and least trained portion of the communities from which they had come, I knew that they had the instinct of interest, and below, and deeper than that, the better instinct of justice. [Applause.] And I said, I will trust these men; I will trust these exiles; my faith and reliance henceforth is on the poor, not on the rich; on the humble, not on the great. [Applause.] Aye, and sad it was to confess, but

it was so. I said, henceforth I put my trust not in my native countrymen, but I put it in the exile from foreign lands. He has an abhorrence for, and he has never been accustomed to, slavery by habit. Here he will stay and retain these Territories free. [Applause.]

I was even painfully disappointed at first, in seeing that the emigrants to the West, had no more consciousness of their interest in this question, when they arrived here, than they had in their native countries. The Irishman who had struggled against oppression in his own country, failed me; the German seemed at first, but, thank God, not long, dull, and unconscious of the duty that devolved upon him. This is true; but nevertheless, I said that the interest and instincts of these people would ultimately bring them out, and when the States which they plant and rear and fortify shall apply for admission into the Federal Union, they will come not as slave States but as free States. [Applause.] I looked one step further. I saw how we could redeem all that had been lost; and redeem it, too, by appealing to the very passionate and interests that had lost all. [Hear! Hear!]

The process was easy. The slave States of the South had demoralized the free States of the North by giving them presidencies, secretaryships, foreign missions and post offices. And now, here in the Northwest, we will build up more free States than there are slave States.—These free States having a common interest in favor of freedom, equal to that of the Southern Slave States in favor of slavery, will offer to Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Jersey, objects worthy their ambition. [Applause.] And to-day, I see the very realization of it all. I can give you advocates for freedom in the Northern States, as bold, as out-spoken, as brave, and as confident of the durability of the Union, as you can find for slavery in the Southern States. Aye, and when the Southern States demoralize the free States by saying they will give their trade and traffic, buy their silks and their liens, and other trumpery, provided they can buy their principles in the sale and the bargain must be struck, I said, there shall be, in those new free States in the Northwest, men who will say, we will buy your silks and linens, and your trumpery of every sort, we will even buy more, and pay you quite as well, provided you do not betray your principles. [Applause.]

All this was simply restoring the balance of the Republican system, bringing in a counter force in favor of freedom to counteract the established political agencies of slavery. You have heard that I have said that the last Democrat is born in this nation. [Laughter and applause.] I say so, however, with the qualification before used, that by Democrat I mean one who will maintain the *Democratic* principles which constitute the present creed of the Democratic party ["Hear, hear; we understand it"]; and for the reason, a very simple one, that slavery cannot pay any longer, and the Democrat does not work for anybody who does not pay. [Great applause.] I propose to pay all kinds of patriots, hereafter, just as they come. I propose to pay them fair consideration if they will only be true to freedom. I propose to gratify all their aspirations for wealth and power, as much as the slave states can.

But, fellow citizens, we had no party for this principle. There was the trouble. Democracy was the natural ally of slavery in the South. We were either whigs, or if you please, Americans, some of us, and thank God I never was one—in the limited sense of the term. [Cries of "good," "good," and applause.] But the Whig party, or the American party, if not equally an ally of the Slave party, in the South, was, at least, a treacherous and unreliable party for the interests of freedom. [That's so.] Only one thing was wanting, that was, to dislodge from the Democratic party, the Whig party, and the Native American party, men enough to constitute a Republican party—the party of Freedom. [Applause.]

And for that we were indebted to the kindness, unintentional, no doubt, of your distinguished Senator, now a candidate for the Presidency, Mr. Douglas—[laughter] who in procuring the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, so shattered the columns of these parties, as to disintegrate them, and instantly there was the material, the preparation, for the onslaught.

Still there was wanted an occasion; and that occasion was given, when, in an hour of madness, the Democratic party and Administration, with the sympathy, or at least the acquiescence, of the Old Line Whigs and the Native Americans, refused to allow the State of Kansas to exercise the perfect freedom in choosing between liberty and slavery, which they had promised to her, except she should exercise it for slavery. Then came the hour. We had then, fellow-citizens, the material for a party; we had the occasion for a party, and the Republican party sprang into existence at once, full armed. I will never knowingly do evil that good may come of it; I will never even wish that others may do evil that good may come of it; and for the same reason that I know the evil to be certain, and the good only possible or problematical. But no man ever rejoiced more heartily over the birth of his first born than I did when I saw the folly and madness of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the rejection of Kansas. [Applause.] These acts, I said to myself, are the doings of Presidents, of Senators, of Judges, of Priests and of Deacons; and when the Republican party organized itself. I said now is the work complete. [Good! Good!]

How much I have been cheered in this long contest, by seeing that only stolen, surreptitious advantages were gained by slavery in the form of rescripts and edicts, and laws on the statute book; while the cause of freedom brought in first, California; next, New Mexico, with her constitution claiming freedom; next, Kansas; next, Minnesota, and next Oregon; you may all know, if you possibly remember, the song of joy, not so poetic, but as full of truth and happiness, as the song of Miriam, which I then uttered, declaring that that was the end, and the victory was won. [Loud applause.] The battle is ended and the victory is ours. Why then, say they, why not withdraw from the field? For the simple reason that if the victor retire from the field, the vanquished will then come back, and the battle will not be won. Why should the victor withdraw, and surrender all his conquests to the conquered enemy? Why should he place the enemy back upon the field, and withdraw his legions into the far distance, to

give him a chance to re-establish the line that has been broken up?

The Republican party will now complete this great revolution. I know it will, because, in the first place, it clearly perceives its duties. It is unanimous upon this subject. We have had hesitation heretofore, but the creed to which I have already adverted, which issued from that Council Chamber now before me, announced the true determination, and embodies that great, living, national idea of Freedom, with which I began. I know that the Republican party will do it, because it finds the necessary forces in all the free States adequate, I trust, to achieve success, and has forces in reserve, and increasing in every slave State in the Union, and only waiting until the success of the Republican party in the free States will be such as to warrant protection to debate, and free suffrage in the slave States. [Applause.] But, above all, I know it, because the Republican party has, what is necessary in every revolution, chosen the right line of policy. It is the policy of peace and moral suasion; of freedom and suffrage; the policy, not of force, but of reason. [Applause.] It returns kindness for unkindness; fervently increased loyalty for demonstrations of disloyalty; patience as becomes the strong, in contention with the weak. [Applause.]

It leaves the subject of slavery in the slave States to the care and responsibility of the slave States alone—(loud cheers)—abiding by the constitution of the country, which makes the slave States on this subject sovereign; and, trusting that the end cannot be wrong, provided that it shall confine itself within its legitimate line of duty, thereby making Freedom paramount in the Federal Government, and making it the interest of every American citizen to sustain it as such. I know that the Republican party will succeed in this, because it is a positive and an active party. It is the only party in the country that is or can be positive in its action. You have three other parties, or forms of parties, but each of them without the characteristics of a party. You are to choose. The citizen is to choose between the Republican party and one of these.

Try them now by their candidates. Mr. Lincoln represents the Republican party. [Hearty applause.] He represents a party which has determined that not one more slave shall be imported from Africa, or transferred from any slave State, domestic or foreign, and placed upon the common soil of the United States. [Cheers.] If you elect him, you know, and the world knows, what you have got. Take the case of Mr. John Bell, an honorable man; a kind man, and a very learned man, a very patriotic man; a man whom I respect, and in social intercourse quite as much as everywhere else, as here where my word may be regarded as simply complimentary; but what does Mr. John Bell, and his Constitutional Union—what is the name of his party? Constitutional Union, is it not? [Laughter.] What does Mr. Bell and his Constitutional Union party propose on this question? He proposes to ignore it altogether; not to know that there is such a question. If we can suppose such a thing possible as Mr. Bell's election by the people, what then? He ignored the question until the day of election came, but it will not stay ignored. Kansas comes and asks or de-

mands to be admitted into the Union. The Indian Territory, also, south of Kansas, must be vacated by the Indians, and here at once the slaveholders present the question as they will also do in the case of New Mexico. It will not stay ignored. It will not rest. It cannot rest. You have postponed the decision for four years, and that is all. Postponing does not settle it. When defending law suits, I have seen times when I thought I won a great advantage by getting an adjournment, [laughter], but I always found, nevertheless, that it was a great deal better to be beaten in the first instance, and try it again, than to hang my hopes upon an adjournment. [Renewed laughter and applause.]

Take the other; Mr. Breckinridge represents a party that proposes a policy the very opposite of ours. They propose to extend slavery and to use the Federal Government to do it. Let us suppose him elected. Will that satisfy the American people? [Cries of "No, no!"] Will that settle the question? [No, no!] That is only what Mr. Buchanan has already done. And if I should put a vote to this audience, I am sure I should get no vote of confidence in Mr. Buchanan. [No, no, no!] That is of course. But if I were to go into a Bell-and-Everett National Union party meeting, as vast as this, and ask for a vote of confidence in James Buchanan, they would say No, just as emphatically as you do. In the demonstration for Mr. Douglas, which is to be made here day after to-morrow—I shall not be here, and would not have the right to appear if I were—but any of you have the right, by their leave, and you ought not to do it without, to offer and put to vote a resolution of confidence in James Buchanan, and you would get precisely the same negative response that you get here, only a little louder. [Applause and laughter.] Then the people are not going to elect Mr. Breckinridge, because he proposes to follow in the footsteps of Mr. Buchanan, who is rejected. Grant, however, that owing to some misapprehension, or some strange combination, they may obtain all they hope, and indirectly, if not directly, make Mr. Breckinridge President. Suppose Mr. Breckinridge elected. Does that settle the question in favor of slavery? Then you not only have the combination of the Republicans, and the Constitutional Union party, and the Douglas party to drive him out again, [Laughter,] but you have only postponed the question for four years more, under circumstances far more serious, possibly fatal.

You have now disposed of them all except the Douglas party. Mr. Douglas' party is not a positive party. It proposes just what the Bell party proposes—to ignore the question in Congress. That is just what we find the people will not do, and will not be content to do under John Bell. Why should they like it better under Mr. Douglas? Mr. Douglas and his party say there is a better way. They don't want it ignored, but that it belongs to the Territories, and they can settle it better and more wisely than we can. What can they do? Have they settled it in the Territories in favor of slavery? Are you, are the people of the free States, going to consent to that? If they were, why did they not consent to the proposition of the President, that the people of Kansas should be subjected to slavery under the Lecompton Constitution? Then, they said, that was the act of the people. But if the peo-

ple of the Territory should decide in favor of freedom, are the slave States going to acquiesce? No, because they have their candidate in the person of Mr. Breckinridge to continue the war until they shall regain the lost battle.

But Mr. Douglas' proposition may result in a different way. He says, if I understand him rightly, that it is immaterial to him, at least he has no right and does not propose to decide upon the question, whether they vote slavery up or down. [Laughter.] Then they will vote slavery up in some territories, and vote it down in some other territories. That, fellow citizens, will be Compromise; are you going to be satisfied with a new Compromise? You have tried them, and found that they are never kept. On the whole, you are very sorry that they were ever made.

But is a compromise that is brought about in that way, the irresponsible act of Squatter Sovereignty in the Territories, to satisfy the slave States? They have repudiated Mr. Douglas, the ablest man among them all; they have repudiated him altogether, because they will not be satisfied with a Squatter Sovereignty that gives any Territory whatever to the free States.

I have now demonstrated to you, I think, that the Republican party is the only positive party. But I can show it by another argument. The Republican party has one faith, one creed, one baptism, one candidate, and will have but one victory. The power of slavery has three creeds, three faiths, and is to have three victories. [Laughter.] They have openly confessed, or rather, the secret leaks out, through conversations and consultations, that they do not expect to get a single victory, any more than you expect they will. All their hope and endeavor is to defeat the Republican party, and take the chances for a share of the fruits to result from your defeat. [Applause.]

Suppose they should, by combinations and coalitions, secure the defeat of the Republican party, are you going to stay defeated. [Cries of no, no.] You have been defeated once, have you not? Can you not bear another defeat? [Yes, half a dozen of them.] You will not have to I am sure. [Laughter.] But I am supposing for the purpose of argument that we are defeated by a coalition. Did any one ever know a cause that was lost when it was defeated by a coalition? [No.] There was a coalition in Europe five years ago in which Hungary was defeated by the coalition of Austria with Russia; but Hungary has risen up again to-day, and the coalition is understood to be dissolved. [Applause.] There was a coalition two or three years later, in which Russia was defeated by the combination of France and England; but Russia is just as strong, just as steadily pressing on towards Constantinople to-day, as she has been every day from the time of the Czar Peter until now. And while she has abated nothing of her purposes, and nothing of hope, she has gained strength. So, all the efforts of the statesmen of both France and England are required to keep them from falling out with each other before the battle begins. There is no danger and not much disgrace in being beaten by coalitions; and there is no danger, because they are coalitions. The more the coalitions are necessary, the less are they effectual. One party is always stronger than two other parties, in a contest, un-

less the whole result is staked upon a single battle.

But, fellow citizens, the explanation of the whole matter is, that there is a time when the nation needs and will require and demand the settlement of subjects of contention. That time has come at last, when the parties in this country, both of the slaveholding states and of the free states, both the slaveholder and the free laboring man, will require an end—a settlement of the conflict. It must be repressed. The time has come to repress it. The people will have it repressed. They are not to be forever disputing upon old issues and controversies. New subjects for national action will come up. This controversy must be settled and ended. The Republican party is the agent, and its success will terminate the contest about slavery in the new states. Let this battle be decided in favor of freedom in the territories, and not one slave will ever be carried into the territories of the United States, and that will end the Irrepressible Conflict. [Great applause.]

And because it is necessary that it should be done, is exactly the reason why it *will* be done. It cannot be settled otherwise, because it involves a question of justice and of conscience. It is for us not merely a question of policy, but a question of moral right and duty. It is wrong, in our judgment, to perpetuate by our votes or to extend slavery.

It is a very different thing when the slaveholder proposes to extend slavery; for that is, with him, only a question of merchandise. Men, of whatever race or nation, in our estimation, are *men*, not merchandise. According to our faith, they all have a natural right to be men, but in the estimation of the other party, African slaves are not men, but merchandise. It is, therefore, nothing more or less with them than a tariff question; a question of protecting commerce. With us it is a question of human rights, and therefore, when it is settled, and settled in favor of the right, it will stay settled just as every question that is settled in favor of the right always does.

But if it be taken merely as a question of policy, it is equally plain that it will be settled in favor of the Republican side, because our highest policy is the development of the resources and the increase of the population, wealth and strength of the Republic. Every man sees for himself, and no man need be told that the coal, the iron, the lead, the copper, the silver and the gold in our mountains and plains are to be dug out by the human hand, and that the only hand that can dig them is the hand of a freeman. [Great applause.] Every man sees that this wealth, and strength and greatness are to be acquired by human labor, guided by human intelligence and human purpose. Every man knows that the slave, even if he be a white man, will have neither the strength nor the intelligence, nor the virtue to create wealth; for the slave has a simple line of interest before him—it is to effect the least and consume the most. [Hear, hear.]

But, fellow citizens, I seem to myself to have fallen below the dignity and greatness of this question, in discussing a proposition whether free labor or slave labor is more expedient, or more necessary. Let me rise once more, and remind you that we are building a new and great

empire; not building it, a modern Rome and Paris and Naples stand, upon the ruins and over the graves of tenfold greater multitudes of men than those who now occupy their sites; but upon a soil, where we are the first possessors, and the first architects. The tomb and the catacomb in Rome and Paris and Naples are filled with relics and implements of human torture and bondage, showing the ignorance and barbarity of their former occupants. Let us, on the other hand, build up an empire that shall leave no monument or relic among our graves, and no trace in our history, to prove that we were false to the great interests of humanity. Human nature is entitled to a home on this earth somewhere. Where else shall it be if it be not here? Human nature is

entitled, among all the nations of the earth, to have a nation that will truly represent, defend and vindicate it. What other nation shall it be, if it be not ours?

People of Illinois! People of the great West! You are all youthful, vigorous, generous. Your States are youthful, vigorous and virtuous. The destinies of our country, the hopes of mankind, the hopes of humanity rest upon you. Ascend, I pray! I conjure you! to the dignity of that high responsibility. Thus acting, you will have peace and harmony and happiness in your future years. The world, looking on, will applaud you and future generations in all ages and in all regions will rise up and call you blessed. [Long continued cheering.]

## SPEECH AT LANSING, MICHIGAN.

THE

## IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT REAFFIRMED.

The Cincinnati *Commercial* gives the following abstract of Senator Seward's speech at Lansing, Mich., on the 1st inst.:—

Fellow Citizens: I was leaving, one misty morning in September, the City of Jerusalem, with my servants and pack-horses to carry provisions and clothing, having four marines of the United States Navy for guard, and an Arab sheik, secured by proper bribes, to give me safe conduct across the mountains of Judea, from the Holy City to the Dead Sea. The Governor had assigned me a janissary, under the responsibility of the bastinado, to see that we got safely out of the dangerous passes. As we climbed one of the lofty hills which skirted the Dead Sea, we came upon a party of native Arabs, who came out to meet us. The janissary rode up to the head of our column, and demanded in a loud voice of the sheik, "How much *man* is here?" [Laughter.] He counted the whole party, and told "how much man" there was by giving the number in our ranks. Standing here in the midst of fifteen thousand freemen, I might ask the same question, in the same sense in which the Arab used it—meaning how many men are here? But flattering as it is to see so many gathered together to listen to my words, I deem it of much more importance to ask, "How much *man* is here," than to inquire how many. I like to speak to as much manhood as I can, while I am quite indifferent as to numbers.

Fellow citizens, it is not, after all, so much a compliance with the kind invitation of the Republicans of Michigan which has brought me here, as it is my own desires. I have an interest in seeing the newly formed Capitol of an embryo State, the

organization and development of free institutions, the prosperity of a free people; and I would willingly travel over many more weary miles of corduroy road, if I could reach the centre of such and so prosperous a community. I would gladly derive from the gathered masses of my countrymen the inspiration needful to instruct me in conveying the lessons which our popular life and development are perpetually teaching. Believing, as I do, that man is but for a day, while humanity is universal, I shall have nothing to say about men. If I know myself, I have no prejudice against any man, however widely he may differ from me in opinion. Holding fast to principles, independently of personalities, I wish to say that society always excuses bad measures and bad principles when they are adopted by those whom they approve, and with whom they are accustomed to co-operate. But if I can find out the principles which move men, I shall then be able to judge intelligently how far they are to be trusted as guides. In order to determine any matter justly, we should know the principles involved in it. Nothing new arises before us for settlement, that is not related to what has gone before. What has been of old, was yesterday, is to-day, and will be again to-morrow. We fulfill our part upon the stage, pass off, and let the responsibility devolve upon our successors. Within the past ten years we have added three new States to the Federal Union, and in the next ten years we shall have added four more.

The question that most interests us as patriots is this—What kind of a nation shall we become? We are so far on our way, and now, if the only question for us were how shall we con-

sult our own ease and peace? we might say—we are safe any way. We who are living to-day, and perish to-morrow, are in no danger. If we sought only our own peace we might adopt the indifferent creed of that political philosopher who “don’t care whether Slavery is voted up or voted down.” But to those coming up after us, the settlement of that question is as vital and important as the settlement of the question of the American Revolution was to our fathers. Why, fellow-citizens, they might have enjoyed peace, and security, and prosperity, and *not* cared for the question that led them to undertake and carry through that arduous revolutionary struggle. But they cared for their posterity, for us, and therefore they settled the question then and there.

Fellow citizens, what you in the West want is, to build a nation which shall be free, prosperous and honored; a nation which shall be acknowledged and revered as the greatest people whom the circling sun has ever looked down upon, from the beginning of time. Do you want anything less? If so, you are not worthy of the great trust committed to your charge. What kind of a nation then do you want? Just such a nation as the State of Michigan; a land where every man may sit, happy and free, not indeed under his own vine and fig-tree, but under his own apple, peach and shade trees, with none to molest or to make him afraid; a land where all the citizens are free to exercise the spontaneous will of freemen. You may go through the whole earth, and you will never find such a body of citizens as this to-day, gathered voluntarily together to discuss and secure their rights. Not in France or Rome or any nation of Europe or Asia, could such a meeting be gathered, without a band of armed dragons being gathered to disperse and trample them down.

Fellow citizens—I was undertaking to analyze this extraordinary spectacle of a great popular meeting, discussing with dignity and moderation the conduct of their rulers, and prepared to discard from their service every man who has forfeited their confidence. The fact of primary importance here, is that every man is free. I am here surrounded with 15,000 freemen. Now suppose for a moment, fellow citizens, that I was surrounded by 15,000 slaves, or even by 14,000 slaves and 1,000 freemen, and that having the opportunity of assemblage, they were to rise in insurrection and rebellion. Of course I must not say a word of human rights, or they might rise and cut the throats of the 1,000 freemen. There can be no such thing as freedom of debate, where all or many are slaves. Next, the greatness of Michigan consists in the fact that all its citizens are voluntary colonists. They came here not as an enforced emigration—they remain here not because they were born here, but because they are willing to come, and free to stay or to go. Thus, you have not a people gathered only from the shores of Western New York, or born within your own borders, but a people gathered from every State in the Federal Union, and every country of Europe; a people fertile in all those resources which make a great nation; a people which brings from every State just those elements which infuse life, wealth and power. You bring the bold, hardy and enterprising, and the brave and fearless men out of every Christian country on earth. You bring them from Eng-

land, Ireland, Scotland, France and Italy; and every man who comes is a man fit to be one of the founders of a Free State. [A voice in the crowd, “From Africa, too?”] Reverse this rule, and suppose that instead of this class of useful citizens, you brought only slaves and paupers, or even convicts, as some States export convicts to countries that will take them. What a difference in your civilization and development should we behold! The weak and useless elements in a population never voluntarily emigrate. Boldness, resolution and enterprise are the requirements of successful colonists. No colonies ever succeeded without them. This involves consequences of more importance than at first thought you would be likely to suppose. Can anybody tell me what nation on earth could have made this vast network of railroads which we possess by any other system of labor than ours? Can any body tell me how we could have made it without Irishmen? Can any one tell me, if we had *all* been Irishmen, how we could ever have got this railway system organized?

I am coming now to the question which my respected friend from a distance has asked me. Now suppose, by any course of policy which you should adopt, you could discourage and prevent freemen from any part of the world from coming in here? The European States would send their refuse classes—their convicts to colonize you. There would never be, thanks to the Providence that guides above, convicts enough to constitute a great country, but there would be enough to deteriorate fatally the character, the prosperity and the virtue of the people. To multiply such classes of population, is but to multiply weakness. What kind of labor should we have, if the freemen, the independent citizens from all countries, were to be met with some such discouraging policy as this? What would you have to supply the place of that great, busy, enterprising free labor which now distinguishes you? What could you have, but what South Carolina and Georgia fell back upon to replace the need of free labor settlers—the importation, namely, through the employment of New York vessels, of African negroes, at \$100 a head, to settle, and clear up, and develop the State of Michigan. Now you have happily escaped that one great evil of having Africans brought here compulsorily to perform that labor. And how have you been enabled to escape it? By the wisdom and foresight of our forefathers, who, by the Ordinance of 1787, declared that neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude should exist in all your borders. Because there were men in those days wise enough to look across the broad fields of the West and anticipate that there would be those who would seek to cover them with Slavery. Is there a man in the State of Michigan who would be willing to-day that there should exist one single, solitary slave, obliged and bound to perform involuntary labor within the State of Michigan? [Cries of “No! No!”] If I take out a freeman and put in a slave, what happens? More than the loss of an enterprising and useful citizen—the loss of virtue—the loss of the spirit and energy that exists only with entire freedom. Let it once be understood that Slavery may exist here, and all the emigrants would desert Michigan at once. The two systems of labor cannot exist as a permanent form of civilization together. *There is an irrepressible conflict.* [Loud and

long continued cheers.] Introduce Slavery, and you expel Freedom. Introduce Freedom, and Slavery will, sooner or later, die. Now, from the beginning of my existence in politics, I have seen this conflict, and I have considered that my bounden duty as a patriot was to see to it, so far as it depended upon my action, that every new State should be a Free State, and to diminish it in the Slave States so far as, constitutionally, it could be done. That is the whole question. If I am wrong, I am grievously wrong.

Let us see what is the alternative, if I am wrong. Did you ever know of a State peopled exclusively by freemen that was in any danger from domestic insurrection, foreign invasion, or civil war? Is there any Slave State but will confess itself to-day in danger of insurrection? A few madmen organized at Chatham, in Canada, enter the oldest and proudest of the Southern States of this Union with a handful of pikes and spears—and straightway the Commonwealth of Virginia quivers and shakes with the terrors of domestic insurrection and servile war. Kentucky expels from her borders freemen who defend freedom within her limits, and Tennessee visits with the stake and faggot slaves who aspire to freedom. What do we see this moment in Texas—a State young and vigorous like Michigan, and priding herself upon still greater significance and power? She is convulsed with an almost universal panic because Slavery is discussed among a portion of her citizens.

But, I am asked, why interfere in this matter? why not stand aloof, and let it take care of itself, and adopt the Illinois Senator's maxim of entire non-intervention. I will tell you why. We are maintaining a standing army, of the heavy cost of one thousand dollars per man; and a standing navy, which is large, though not very effective; and what are we maintaining it for? To take care of Michigan; to protect New York, or Massachusetts, or Ohio, against internal or external violence? No; there is not a nation on the face of the earth which would dare to attack these free States, or any of them, if they were even disinited. But we are doing it in order that slaves may not escape from slave States into the free, and to secure those States from domestic insurrection, and because, if we provoke a foreign foe, Slavery cries out that it is in danger. Have I not a right to say that if it were possible, I would rather not have an army and navy—rather not wring from the hand of free labor its earnings to increase an army, whose tendency always and everywhere is to corrupt public virtue.

What, then, fellow citizens, are my limits? Simply these. The Constitution of the United States makes you and me sovereigns over the Territories for their good. They are vacant, unoccupied, unimproved; and if left to themselves, the cupidity of the slaveholder and the slave-trader would lead them to enter them and colonize them with Slavery. And this would be done by a surprise—by a movement, which, while it might not people the Territory with Slavery, would introduce enough to demoralize all the people, and turn them all into apologists for Slavery, upon a principle which, I am ashamed to confess, has ruled this nation for forty years. It is this: that for the sake of peace, of harmony, of quiet, we will sacrifice justice, freedom and the welfare of posterity.

It is that for the sake of living on good terms with your neighbors, while they will not give up an error, or a prejudice, or a principle, *you will*. There is no virtue among us—no reliance on God—no justice, no public conscience, that is equal to our dread of the oft-repeated menace, that if we don't give up freedom, right, justice and everything else, they will set on fire this great temple of constitutional liberty and consume us all. [Loud cheers.] Fellow citizens, I have no hope for these United States, but in the existence of such honest, candid, considerate citizens as will look earnestly into these things and interest themselves in their just determination. Give me such a man, and I care not whether he votes now for Douglas or Breckinridge, I'll have him a friend of freedom before he dies, [applause,] or if he goes an unrepentant Democrat to his grave, I'll have his children.

Fellow citizens, if Gen. Cass had so administered your Territorial Government of Michigan as to encourage the introduction of one thousand slaves, your noble Commonwealth would now have been a Slave State. That is what has been done with Texas, where, in a fine agricultural State, adapted to free labor, Slavery is not only established, but we are bound, by the very act of admission, to accept four more new Slave States out of her soil. That is what would have been done with Kansas had we not fought and struggled against it with all the energy of freemen. Now, fellow citizens, if the man who owns his own land is to be replaced by a man who is willing that another man should own him as a slave, the quality of society is deteriorated; and I believe that if you bring the question right home to any sound, right-minded man, he would say, I would much rather you would make a slave of me than to forge your manacles for any man who is under my protection and care. All that is wanted in order to settle this matter rightly is to make sure that all our efforts converge to the one great end of fostering Freedom and discouraging Slavery.

They tell us that Popular Sovereignty will work out the result of Freedom. So it would, if in Congress and in the Administration, you had the active friends of Freedom instead of men who are on the other side. But, whenever you have got to that point you have arrived where the advocates of that convenient doctrine will not follow you. Popular Sovereignty is good only to establish Slavery. Its virtues are not appreciated when it works the other way.—[Laughter and applause.] You will find no advocates of Popular Sovereignty among the Democracy after the 6th day of November next. And then you come right to the great issue of the irrepressible conflict, and if you don't like the conduct of affairs—why, four years are soon ended, and all who are opposed to it will have a fair opportunity in the next Presidential election to fix the machinery for another four years.—[Cheers.] All, on the other hand, which we have to do, is to take care that no missteps give occasion to charge us with abuse of the great trust committed to our hands. All will be well if we redeem the confidence of those to whom we have opened up the way to help secure our national welfare. All will go right when our efforts are directed to reclaim for us, a place in the family of free nations, and to secure for us the respect and confidence of mankind.

## ON THE MISSOURI BORDER.

HIS

## SPEECH AND ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION AT ST. JOSEPH.

MR. CHAIRMAN, GENTLEMEN AND FELLOW CITIZENS—I think that I have, some time before this, said that the most interesting and agreeable surprise that ever human being had on this earth was that which Columbus felt when—after his long and tedious voyage in search of a continent, the existence of which was unknown to himself, as to all mankind, and the evidence of whose existence was nothing but a suggestion of his own philosophy, surrounded as he was by a mutinous crew, who were determined on the destruction of his own life if he should continue the voyage unsuccessfully another day—he went out at night on the deck of his little vessel, and there rose up before him the dark shadow of an island, lighted up by the dwellings of human beings like himself. That was the most interesting surprise that ever occurred to any man on earth. And yet I do not think that Columbus was much more surprised than I and those who are with me have been to-night:

We have been traveling in a land of friends and brethren, through many States, from Maine to Missouri!—along the shores of the ocean, along the shores of the great lakes and the banks of great rivers—and I will not deny that our footsteps have been made pleasant by kind and friendly and fraternal greetings. We entered the soil of Missouri this morning, at ten o'clock, feeling that, although we had a right to regard the people of Missouri as our brethren, and although we were their brethren and friends, yet we were to be regarded by its citizens as strangers, if not as aliens and enemies; but this welcome which greets us here surpasses anything that we have experienced in our sojournings from Bangor, in the State of Maine, to this place. The discovery that here there is so much of kindness for us, so much of respect and consideration, takes us by surprise. [Applause.] I will not deny that it affects us with deep sensibility, for we did not propose to visit St. Joseph. There is a land beyond you—a land redeemed and saved for freedom, through trials and sufferings that have commended its young and growing people to the respect of mankind and to our peculiar sympathy.

We proposed to be quiet travelers through the State of Missouri, hoping and expecting without stopping here, to rest this night on the other side of the Missouri, where we knew we would be welcome. [A voice—'We won't hurt you.'] No, I know you won't hurt me. The man who never wished evil to any human being, who challenges enemies as well as friends to show the wrong of which any being made in his own form can accuse him when he comes before the

bar of Justice, has no fear of being harmed in the country of his birth and of his affection. But I stated that not merely for the purpose of showing how agreeable is the fraternal welcome. It is full of promise. I pass over all that has been said to me of consideration for myself. There are subjects on which I take no verdict from my fellow citizens. I choose to take the approbation if I can get it, of my conscience, and to wait till a future age for the respect and consideration of mankind. [Applause.] But I will dwell for one moment on this extraordinary scene, full of assurance on many points, and interesting to every one of you as it is to me.

The most cheering fact, as it is the most striking one in it, is that we who are visitors and pilgrims to Kansas, beyond you, find that we have reached Kansas already on the northern shores of the Missouri river. [Hurrah.] Now come up here you—if there are any such before me—who are so accustomed to sound an alarm about the danger of a dissolution of the Union; come up here, and look at the scene of Kansas and Missouri, so lately hostile, brought together on either shore in the bonds of fraternal affection and friendship. [Loud cheers.] That is exactly what will always occur whenever you attempt to divide this people and to set one portion against another. The moment you have brought the people to the point where there is the least degree of danger to the national existence felt, then those whom party malice or party ambition have arrayed against each other as enemies, will embrace each other as friends and brethren. [Enthusiastic applause.]

Let me tell you this simple truth: that though you live in a land of slavery there is not a man among you who does not love slavery less than he loves the Union. [Applause.] Nor have I ever met the man who loved freedom so much under any of the aspects involved in the present Presidential issues as he loved the Union, for it is only through the stability and perpetuity of this Union that any blessings whatever may be expected to descend on the American people.

And now, fellow citizens, there is another lesson which this occasion and this demonstration teach. They teach that there is no difference whatever in the natures, constitutions or character of the people of the several States of this Union, or of the several sections of this Union. They are all of one nature, even if they are not all native born and educated in the same sentiments. Although many of them came from distant lands, still the very effect of being an American citizen is to make them all alike.

I will tell you why this is so. The reason is simply this: The Democratic principle that every man ought to be the owner of the soil that he cultivates, and the owner of the limbs and the head that he applies to that culture, has been adopted in some of the States earlier than in others; and where it was adopted earliest it has worked out the fruits of higher advancement, of greater enterprise, of greater prosperity. Where

it has not been adopted, enterprise and industry have languished in proportion. *But it is going through; it is bound to go through.* [A voice—"Not here."] *Yes, here. As it has already gone through eighteen States of the Union so it is bound to go through all of the other fifteen. It is bound to go through all of the thirty-three States of the Union for the simple reason that it is GOING THROUGH THE WORLD.* [Enthusiastic cheering.]

## Reception and Speeches at St. Louis and Springfield.

### INTERVIEW WITH MR. LINCOLN

#### Sketch of "Old Abe," &c.

MR. SEWARD said that he had not come to see St. Louis or the people of Missouri, but to see Kansas, which was entitled to his gratitude and respect. Missouri could take care of herself; she did not care for Republican principles, but warred with them altogether. If forty years ago Missouri had chosen to be a Free State, she would now have four millions of people instead of one million. He was a plain spoken man, and here was talking treason in the streets of St. Louis. He could not talk anything else if he talked as an honest man, but he found himself out of place here. [A Voice—"You're at home."] Here, said he, are the people of Missouri, who ask me to make a speech, and at the same time there are laws as to what kind of speech I may make. The first duty that you owe to your city and yourselves is to repeal and abrogate every law on your statute book that prohibits a man from saying what his honest judgment and sentiment and heart tell him is the truth. [Mingled surprise and approbation on the part of the crowd.] Though I have said these hard things about the State of Missouri, I have no hard sentiments about it or St. Louis, for I have great faith and hope—nay, absolute trust—in Providence and the American people. What Missouri wants is courage, resolution, spirit, manhood—not consenting to take only that privilege of speech that slaveholders allow, but insisting on complete freedom of speech.

But I have full trust that it will all come right in the end; that in ten years you will double your population, and that in fifteen or twenty years you will have four millions of people. To secure that, you have but to let every man who comes here from whatever state or nation, speak out what he believes will promote the interests and welfare of mankind. What surprised me in Kansas was to see the vast improvements made there within six years, with so little wealth or strength among the people; and what surprised

me in Missouri was that, with such a vast territory and with such great resources, there was so little of population, improvement and strength to be found. [Faint manifestations of approval.] I ought not, perhaps, to talk these things to you.

I should have begun at the other end of the story, though a citizen of any other State has as much liberty here as the citizens of Missouri; but he has less liberty than I like. I want more than you have. I want to speak what I think, instead of what a Missourian thinks. I think you are in a fair way of shaming your Government into an enlightened position. You are in the way of being Germanized into it. I would much rather you had got into it by being Americanized instead of Germanized; but it is better to come to it through that way than not to come to it at all.

It was through the Germans Germanizing Great Britain that Magna Charta was obtained, and that that great charter of English liberty came to be the charter of the liberties of the sons of England throughout the whole world. Whatever lies in my power to do to bring into successful and practical operation the great principle that this government is a government for free men and not for slaves or slaveholders, and that this country is to be the home of the exile from every land, I shall do as you are going to do by supporting Abraham Lincoln for President, and Hannibal Hamlin for Vice-President. [Cheers.]

At Springfield, where Mr. Lincoln resides, there was a crowd awaiting the arrival of the train, and a salute was fired as it approached the station. There was a rush into and about the windows of the car in which Mr. Seward was seated. Among those who pressed forward to shake him by the hand was Mr. Lincoln himself. His portrait bears a sufficient resemblance to him to make recognition easy, and yet he is not by any means so hard featured and almost repulsive looking as they represent him.

On the contrary, while no one would call him

a good looking man, neither would any one be repelled by his aspect. The good humored expression that lurks about his clear gray eye, travels the one long, deep curved furrow down his cheek, and makes its home somewhere in the region of his capacious mouth, must always make him friends. He dresses in the ordinary style of Western lawyers, black cloth swallow-tailed coat, and pants fitting tightly to his long, bony frame; the inevitable black satin vest, open low down, and displaying a broad field of shirt bosom, the collar being turned down over a black silk neckerchief.

The crowd commenced to vociferate for Seward and finally succeeded in getting him out to the platform. After alluding to the extent of his trip, he said:

I am happy to express, on behalf of the party with whom I am traveling, our gratitude and acknowledgments for this kind and generous reception at the home of your distinguished fellow-citizen, our excellent and honored candidate for the Chief Magistracy of the United States. If there is in any part of the country a deeper interest felt in his election than there is in any other part, it must of course be here, where he has lived a life of usefulness; where he is surrounded by the companions of his labors and of his public services. We are happy to report to you, although we have traveled over a large part of the country, we have found no doubtful States. [Applause.]

You would naturally expect that I should say something about the temper and disposition of the State of New York. The State of New York will give a generous and cheerful and effective support to your neighbor, Abraham Lincoln. I have heard about combinations and coalitions there, and I have been urged from the beginning to abandon this journey and turn back on my footsteps. Whenever I shall find any reason to suspect that the majority which the State of New York will give for the Republican candidate, will be less than 60,000, [cheers,] I may

do so. The State of New York never fails—never flinches. She has been committed from the beginning, as she will be to the end, under all circumstances, to the great principles of the Republican party.

She voted to establish this a land of freedom for you in 1787. She sustained the Ordinance of '87 till you were able to take care of yourselves. Among the first acts of her government, she abolished slavery for herself. She has known nothing of compromises, nothing of condition or qualification in this great principle, and she never will. She will sustain your distinguished neighbor because she knows he is true to this great principle, and when she has helped to elect him, by giving as large a majority as can be given by any half dozen other States, then you will find that she will ask less, exact less, from him, and support him more faithfully than any other State can do. That is the way she did with John Quincy Adams, that is the way she sustained Gen. Taylor, and that is the way she will sustain Gen. Lincoln. [Great cheers.]

There were loud calls for Gen. Nye, to which he responded. While he was speaking the two great Republican leaders had a few words of general conversation in the car, within the hearing of those around them. They expressed themselves satisfied as to the result of the election.

Mr. Lincoln said: Twelve years ago you told me that this cause would be successful, and ever since I have believed that it would be. Even if it did not succeed now, my faith would not be shaken.

An invitation was extended to the party to go to some place not definitely understood. They left the car for the purpose in Mr. Lincoln's company, but, finding that the train would only stop a few moments, they turned back, shook hands with the President expectant, and resumed their seats. Mr. Seward was cheered as the train swept through the town.

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## SPEECH AT MADISON, WISCONSIN,

September 12, 1860.

### DUTY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE NORTHWEST.

FELLOW-CITIZENS—It is a bright September sun that is shining down upon us—such a sun as nature, pleased with the remembrance of her own beneficence, seems to delight in sending forth to grace the close of a season which has been crowned with abundance and luxuriance, unknown even to her own habitual profuseness. It is such a sun as nature, pleased with seeing the growth of a noble capital in a great State, may be supposed to send out to illuminate and to make more effulgent the magnificent beauties of

the place in which we are assembled. It is such a September sun as we might almost suppose nature, sympathizing with the efforts of good men, lovers of liberty, anxious to secure their own freedom, to perpetuate that freedom for the enjoyment of their posterity, and to extend its blessings throughout the whole world, and for all generations, may have sent forth in token of sympathy with such a noble race. [Applause.] But, fellow citizens, bright and cheerful as this hour is, my heart is oppressed, and I am unable

at once to lift myself above the sadness of recent scenes and painful recollections. I obeyed the command of the Republican people of Wisconsin to appear before them on this, the 12th day of September; and as I approached the beautiful seaport, if I may so call the city that crowns the shores of Lake Michigan, and affords entrance to this magnificent State, I had anticipated, because I had become habituated to, a welcome that should be distinguished by the light of a thousand torches, and by the voices of music and of cannon. But the angel of death passed just before me on the way, and instead of footsteps lighted with the greeting of thousands of my fellow citizens, I found only a thick darkness, the gloom increased, as only nature's darkness can be, by the weeping and wailing of mothers for the loss of children, and refusing to be comforted. I have been quite unable to rise from that sudden shock; to forget that instead of the voice of a kind and merry and genial welcome, I heard only mourning and lamentation in the streets.

To you, perhaps, the scene seems somewhat foreign, because it occurred in your beautiful seaport, but it was not merely a municipal calamity. It is a calamity and disaster that befalls the State, and strikes home dismay and horror to the bosoms of all its people, for those were citizens of the State who perished, and those who survive are the mourners; the desolate widows and orphans who are bereaved. Let me, before I proceed, take the liberty to bring this subject home to the State authorities of Wisconsin, and to ask and to implore that nothing may be left undone, if there is yet anything that can be done, to rescue a single sufferer from that dreadful calamity, and to bring to the comforts of social life, and of a sound, good, religious, and public education, the orphans who are left to wander on the streets by the lake side.

Fellow citizens, it is a political law—and when I say political law, I mean a higher law—[cries of "good,"]—a law of Providence, that empire has, for the last three thousand years, so long as we have records of civilization, made its way constantly westward, and that it must continue to move on westward until the tides of the renewed and of the decaying civilizations of the world meet on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Within a year I have seemed to myself to follow the track of empire in its westward march for three thousand years. I stood but a year ago on the hill of Calvary. I stood soon afterward on the Piræus of Athens. Again I found myself on the banks of the Tiber. Still advancing westward I rested under the shades of the palaces of the kings of England, and trod the streets of the now renovated capital of France. From those capitals I made my way at last to Washington, the city of established empire for the present generation of men, and of influence over the destinies of mankind. [Applause.]

Empire moves far more rapidly in modern than it did in ancient times. The empire established at Washington, is of less than a hundred years formation. It was the empire of thirteen Atlantic American States. Still practically the mission of that empire is fulfilled. The power that directs it is ready to pass away from those thirteen States, and although held and exercised under the same Constitution and national form of government, yet it is now in the very act of being transferred from the thirteen States east

of the Alleghany mountains and on the coast of the Atlantic ocean, to the twenty States that lie west of the Alleghanies, and stretch away from their base to the base of the Rocky Mountains. The political power of the Republic, the empire is already here in the plain that stretches between the great lakes on the east and the base of the Rocky Mountains on the west; and you are heirs to it. When the next census shall reveal your power, you will be found to be the masters of the United States of America, and through them the dominating political power of the world. [Applause—and voice, "Amen."] Our mission, if I may say that I belong to that eastern and falling empire instead of the rising western one—the mission of the thirteen States has been practically accomplished. And what is it? Just like the mission of every other power on earth. To reproduce, to produce a new and greater and better power than we have been ourselves, [applause,] to introduce on the stage of human affairs twenty new States and to prepare the way for twenty more, before whose rising greatness and splendor, all our own achievements pale and fade away. We have done this with as much forethought perhaps as any people ever exercised, by saving the broad domain which you and these other forty States are to occupy, saving it for your possession, and so far as we had virtue enough, by surrounding it with barriers against the intrusion of ignorance, superstition and slavery. [Applause.]

Because you are to rise to the ascendant and exercise a dominating influence, you are not, therefore, to cast off the ancient and honored thirteen that opened the way for you and marshaled you into this noble possession, nor are you to cast off the new States of the West. But you are to lay still broader foundations, and to erect still more noble columns to sustain the empire which our fathers established, and which it is the manifest will of our Heavenly Father shall reach from the shores of the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. It was a free government which they established, and it was a self-government—a government such as, on so large a scale, or indeed on any scale, has never before existed. I know that when you consider what a magnificent destiny you have before you, to lay your hand on the Atlantic coast, and to extend your power to the Pacific ocean and grasp the great commerce of the east, you will fully appreciate the responsibility. It is only to be done by maintaining the Democratic system of government. There is no other name given under heaven by which, in this generation, nations can be saved from desolation and ruin, than Democracy. This, to many conservative ears, would seem a strange proposition, and yet it is so simple that I lack the power almost of elucidating it. Look at England. She is ambitious, as she well may be, and ought to be, to retain that dominion, reaching into every part of the habitable globe which she now exercises. She is likely to do it, too, and may do it, by reducing, every successive year, the power of her aristocracy, and introducing more and more, the popular element of Democracy into the administration of our government.

In many respects the government of England, though more aristocratic, is still less monarchic than our own. The British empire exists to-day

only by recognizing and gradually adopting the great truth that if the British empire is to stand, it is the British people who are to maintain that empire and enjoy and exercise it. France, the other great European power, which seems to stand firmer now than ever, and to be renewing her career of prosperity and glory—France, under the form of a despotism, has adopted the principle of universal suffrage, and the empire of France to-day is a democracy. The Austrian empire is falling. And why? Because democracy is rising in Germany to demand the liberation of the people of its various nations, and the exercise of universal suffrage. And Italy to-day all along the coast of the Mediterranean, is rising up to the dignity of renewed national life, by adopting the principle of universal suffrage and the limitation of power by the action of the whole people.

Now if in the Old World, where government and empire are entrenched and established so strong in hereditary aristocracy, no empire can stand except as it yields to the democratic principle; look around over the United States of America, and say how long you can hold these States in a federal union or maintain one common authority or empire here, except on the principles of democracy? Therefore, it is that, I say, that you of the northwest are, above all things, first, last, and all the time, to recognize as the great element of the republic, the system and principles of democracy.

But, fellow citizens, it is easy to talk about democracy. I have heard some men prate of it by the hour, and admire it, and shout for it, and express their reverence for it; and yet I have seen that they never comprehend the simplest element of democracy? What is it? Is it the opposite of monarchy or of aristocracy? Aristocracy is maintained everywhere, in all lands, by one of two systems, or by both combined. An aristocracy is the government in which the privileged own the lands, and the many unprivileged work them, or in which the few privileged own the laborers and the laborers work for them. In either case the laborer works on compulsion, and under the constraint of force; and in either case he takes that which may remain after the wants of the owners of land or labor are both satisfied. The laborer must rest content with the privilege of being protected in his personal rights; and the powers of the government are exercised by the owner, of labor and of land.

Here, then, you see I have brought you to the consideration of the great problem of society in this republic or empire. It is this: Is there any danger that in the United States the citizen will not be the owner of the land which he cultivates? If there is any part of the United States where the labor or the land is monopolized by capital, there is a place in which the democratic element has not yet had its introduction or been permitted to work its way effectually. So, on the other hand, as here, where you are, no man can monopolize the land which another man is obliged to cultivate, much less monopolize the labor by which the lands on your fields are cultivated, you are entirely and absolutely established and grounded on democratic principles. But, you all know, that has not always been the history of our whole country, and, at times, was not the condition of any part of it

Some two hundred years ago, when laborers were scarce, and the field to be cultivated was large, private citizens of the Atlantic States, driven, as they said, by the cupidity of the British Government, introduced the labor of slaves into the American Colonies, and then established the aristocracy of land and labor. The system pervaded nearly the whole Atlantic States. If it had not been interrupted it would have pervaded the Continent of America; and instead of what you see, and of what you are a part, and of what you do,—instead of emigration from the Eastern States into the prairies of the West, and instead of emigration from Europe all over the United States, you would have had in the Northwest this day the Boston and New York merchant importing laborers instead of freemen into the seaports, and dispersing them over the entire valley of the Mississippi. That would have been the condition of civilization on this continent. It has been fortunate for you, and fortunate for us, that such a desecration of the magnificent scene, provided by nature for the improvement of human society and for the increase of human happiness, has been arrested so soon; and you will see how felicitous it is when for one moment you compare the condition of Wisconsin, and of Maine, and of Iowa, and of Illinois, and of Indiana, and of all the Free States of the Union, with the Islands of the West Indies, colonized just at the same time that the Atlantic States were colonized, and with the condition of South America, a whole and entire new continent, abounding in the most luxuriant vegetation and with the greatest resources of mineral wealth, absolutely reduced to a condition of perpetual civil war, and ever renewed ruinous desolation. The salvation of North America from all those disasters that have befallen the Southern portion of the continent is the result of bold and firm procedure on the part of your ancestors and mine, less than a hundred years ago.

The Government of the United States was established in an auspicious moment. The world had become aroused to the injustice as well as to the inexpediency of the system of Slavery, and the people of the United States, rising up to the dignity of the decision that was before them, determined to prevent the further extension, as far and fast as possible, to secure the abolition of African Slavery. It was under the influence of a high, righteous, noble, humane excitement like that, that even the State of Virginia, itself a Slave State, like the State of New York, determined that, so far as her power and her will could command the future, Slavery should cease forever; first, by abolishing the African Slave Trade, which would bring about, ultimately, the cessation of domestic Slavery; and, in the second place, by declaring that her consent to the cession of territory northwest of the Ohio, of which you occupy so beautiful a part, was given with the express condition that it should never be the home of Slavery or involuntary servitude. [Applause.]

But, fellow citizens, I need not remind you that this, like most other efforts of human society to do good and to advance the welfare of mankind, had its painful and unfortunate reaction. Hardly twenty years had elapsed after the passage of those noble acts for the foundation of liberty on the North American continent, before

there came over the nation a tide of demoralization, the results of which, coming on us with such fearful rapidity, surpass almost our power to describe or to sufficiently deplore.

What have we seen since that was done? We have seen the people of the United States—for it is of no use to cast responsibility on parties, or administrations, or statesmen—extend slavery all around the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. We have seen them take Texas into the Union and agree that she should come in as a Slave State, and have the right to multiply herself into four more Slave States. We have seen California and New Mexico conquered by the people of the United States, with the deliberate consent, if not purpose, that Slavery should be extended from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean. We have seen the Constitution of the United States, perverted by the consent of the people until that Constitution, instead of being a law of freedom and a citadel of human rights, has come to be pronounced by the affected judgment and willing consent of the highest tribunal of the United States, yet enjoying the confidence and support of the people, to be a tower and bulwark of human slavery, of African bondage; and you have it now announced by the government of the United States, which you yourselves brought into power, that wherever the Constitution of the United States goes, it carries, not freedom with the eagles of conquest, but hateful bondage. [Applause.] If the principle which you have thus permitted to be established is true, then there is not an arsenal within the United States, not a military or naval school of the federal government, not a federal jail, not a dock yard, not a ship that traverses the ocean, bearing the American flag in any part of the land, where the law, the normal law, the law by which men are tried and judged, is not a law by which every man whose ancestor was a slave is a slave, and by which property in slaves, not freedom of man, is the real condition of society under the federal system of government. I can only ask you to consider for a moment how near you have come to losing everything which you enjoy of this great interest of freedom. The battle culminated at last on the fields of Kansas.

How severe and how dreadful a battle that has been, you all know. It was a great and desperate effort of the aristocracy of capital in labor, to carry their system practically with all its evils to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and to cut off the Atlantic States from all communication with the sister States on the Pacific, and so extend Slavery from the centre, both ways, restoring it throughout the whole country. You will say that this was a very visionary attempt; but it was far from being visionary. It was possible, and for a time seemed fearfully probable—probable for this reason, that the land must have labor, and that it must be either the labor of free-men or the labor of slaves. Introduce slave labor in any way that you can, and free labor is repelled, and avoids it. Slave labor was introduced into this country by the opening of the African slave trade, and when the Territory of the United States, in the interior of the continent was open to Slavery with your consent and mine, nothing then would have remained but to reopen and restore the African slave trade; for it is prohibited only by a law, and the same power that made the law could repeal and abrogate it. The

same power that abrogated the Missouri Compromise in 1854, would, if the efforts to establish Slavery in Kansas had been successful, have been, after a short time, bold enough, daring enough, desperate enough, to have repealed the prohibition of the African slave trade. And, indeed, that is yet a possibility now; for, disguise these issues now before the American people as they may be disguised by the Democratic party, yet it is nevertheless perfectly true, that if you forego your opposition and resistance to Slavery, if this popular resistance should be withdrawn, or should, for any reason, cease, then the African slave trade, which at first illegally renews itself along the coasts of our Southern States, would gradually steal up the Mississippi, until the people, tired with a hopeless resistance, should become indifferent, and African Slavery would once more become the disgraceful trade of the American flag.

Now, all these evils would have happened all this abandonment of the continent of North America to slavery would have happened, and have been inevitable, had resistance to it depended alone on the people of the thirteen original States. We were already overpowered there. From one end of the Atlantic States to the other, there were, in 1850, scarcely three States which did not declare that henceforth they gave up the contest, and that they were willing that the people of the new Territories might have slavery or freedom, and might come into the Union as slave States or as free States, just as they pleased.

When that had happened, what would have followed? Why, that the people who had the right to slavery if they pleased, had the right to get slaves if they pleased. How then were we saved? It seems almost as if it was Providential that these new States of the Northwest, the State of Michigan, the State of Wisconsin, the State of Iowa, the State of Maryland, the State of Ohio, founded on this reservation for freedom that had been made in the year 1787, matured just in the critical moment to interpose, to rally the free States of the Atlantic coast, to call them back to their ancient principles, to nerve them to sustain them in the contest at the Capital, and to send their noble and true sons and daughters to the plains of Kansas, to defend, at the peril of their homes, and even their lives, if need were, the precious soil which had been abandoned by the Government to slavery from the intrusion of that, the greatest evil that has ever befallen our land. [Applause.] You matured in the right time. And how came you to mature? How came you to be better, wiser, than we of the Atlantic States? The reason is a simple one, perfectly plain. Your soil had been never polluted by the footprints of a slave. Every foot of ours had been redeemed from slavery. You are a people educated in the love of freedom, and to whom the practice of freedom and of Democracy belongs, for every one of you own the land you cultivate, and no human being that has ever trodden it has worn the manacles of a slave. [Loud applause.] And you come from other regions too. You come from the South, where you knew the evils of slavery. You come from Germany and from Ireland, and from Holland and from France, and from all over the face of the globe, where you have learned by experience the sufferings that result from aristocracy and oppression. [Ap-

plause.] And you brought away with you from your homes the sentiments, the education of freemen. You came then just at the right moment. You came prepared. You came qualified. You came sent by the Almighty to rescue this land and the whole continent from slavery. Did ever men have a more glorious duty to perform, or a more beneficent destiny before them than the people of the northwestern angle that lies between the Ohio river and the great lakes and the Mississippi? I am glad to see that you are worthy of it, that you appreciate it.

It does not need that I should stimulate you by an appeal to your patriotism, to your love of justice, and to your honor, to perfect this great work, to persevere in it until you shall bring the Government of the United States to stand hereafter as it stood forty years ago, a tower of freedom, and a refuge for the oppressed of all lands, instead of a bulwark of slavery. [Applause.] I prefer rather to deal in what may perhaps be not less pleasing to you, and that is, to tell you that the whole responsibility rests henceforth directly or indirectly on the people of the northwest. Abandon that responsibility, and slavery extends from the Gulf of Mexico to the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the Atlantic coast. There can be no virtue in commercial and manufacturing communities to maintain a Democracy, when the Democracy themselves do not want a Democracy. [Laughter.] There is no virtue in Pearl street, in Wall street, in Court street, in Chestnut street, in any other street of great commercial cities, that can save the great Democratic Government of ours, when you cease to uphold it with your intelligent votes, your strong and mighty hands. You must, therefore, lead us, as we heretofore reserved and prepared the way for you. We resign to you the banner of human rights and human liberty, on this continent, and we bid you be firm, bold and onward, and then you may hope that we will be able to follow you.

I have said that you are to have the responsibility alone. I have shown you that in the Atlantic Northern States we were dependent on you. I need not tell you that at present you can expect no effective support or sympathy in the Atlantic Southern States.

You must demonstrate the wisdom of our cause by argument, by reason, by the firm exercise of suffrage, in every way in which the human intelligence and human judgment can be convinced of truth and right—you must demonstrate it, giving line upon line and precept upon precept, overcoming passion and prejudice and enmity, with gentleness, with patience, with loving kindness to your brethren of the Slave States, until they shall see that the way of wisdom which you have chosen, is also the path of peace. [Applause.] The Southwest are sharers with you of the Northwest in this great inheritance of empire. It belongs equally to them and to you. They have plains as beautiful. They have rivers as noble. They have all the elements of wealth, prosperity, and power that you have. Still from them, from Kentucky and Tennessee, from Missouri and Arkansas, from Alabama and Missouri, and Louisiana, you will for the present, receive no aid or support; but you will have to maintain your principles in opposition, although I trust, not in defiance of them—and that, for the simple reason that in the great year 1787, when Mr. Jefferson proposed

that Slavery should be excluded in all the public domain of the United States, lying southwest, as well as that lying northwest of the Ohio river, those States had not the forecast, had not the judgment, to surrender the temporary conveniences and advantages of Slavery, and to elect, as your ancestors chose for you, the great system of Free Labor. They chose Slavery, and they have to drag out, for some years yet, not long, not so long as some of you will live, but still so long that they will be a drag and a weight upon your movements, instead of lending you assistance—they have got to drag out, to the end, their system of Slave Labor. You have, therefore, as you see, the whole responsibility. It depends upon you. You have no reliance upon the Atlantic States of the east, north or south. You have the opposition of the southern States on either side of the Alleghany mountains; but still the power is with you. You are situated where all powers have ever been, that have controlled the destiny of the nation to which they belonged. You are in the land which produces the wheat and the corn, the cereal grains—the land that is covered with the oak, and where they say the Slave cannot live. They are in the land that produces cotton and sugar, and the tropical fruits—in the land where *they say* the white man cannot labor, in the land where the white man must perish if he have not a negro Slave to provide him with food and raiment. [Laughter.] They do, indeed, command the mouths of the rivers; but what is that worth, except as they derive perpetual supplies, perpetual moral reinvigoration, from the hardy sons of the north, that reside around the sources of those mighty rivers? [Applause.]

I am sure that, in this, I am speaking only words of truth and experience. The northwest is by no means so small as you may think it; I speak to you because I feel that I am, and, during all my mature life, have been one of you. Although of New York, I am still a citizen of the northwest. [Good.] The northwest extends eastward to the base of the Alleghany mountains, and does not all of Western New York lie westward of the Alleghany mountains? [Good.]

Whence comes all the inspiration of free soil, which spreads itself with such cheerful voices over all these plains? Why, from New York, westward of the Alleghany mountains. The people before me—who are you but New York men, while you are men of the northwest? It is an old proverb, that men change the skies but not their minds, when they emigrate; but you have changed neither skies nor mind. [Applause.] I might call the roll of Western New York, and I doubt not that, when I came to Herkimer county, I should have a response. I certainly have had responses here from Cayuga and Genesee [A voice: "Erie!"], and from Erie [A voice: "Auburn!"], and from Auburn [A voice: "Seneca!"], and from Seneca [A voice: "Yates!"], and from Yates; aye, aye. [Loud laughter.] Bless my soul! I have been laboring under a delusion all the time. I thought I was out here, midway between the Mississippi and the Lakes, and I find I am standing on the stage in the centre park at home. [A voice: "Right at home."] [Another voice: "And old Ontario."] And old Ontario. We will not forget old Ontario, nor old Oswego, nor Oneida.

Fellow citizens, I will add but one word more; this is not the business of this day alone. It is not the business of this year alone. It is not the business of the northwest alone. It is the interest, the destiny of human society on the continent. You are to make this whole continent, from north to south, from east to west, a land of freedom and a land of happiness. [Applause.] There is no power on earth now existing, no empire existing, or as yet established, that is to equal or can equal in duration the future of the United States. It is not for ourselves alone; you have the least possible interest in it. It is, indeed, for those children of yours. Old John Adams, when at the close

of the revolutionary war he sat down and counted up the losses and sacrifices that he had endured and made, rejoiced in the establishment of the independence which had been the great object of his life, and said, "I have gained nothing. I should have been even more comfortable, perhaps, and more quiet, had we remained under the British dominion; but for my children, and for their children, and for the children of the generation that labored with me, I feel that we have done a work which entitles us to rejoice, and call upon us by our successes to render our thanks to Almighty God."

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## GOVERNOR SEWARD'S

### EVENING SPEECH AT DETROIT,

September 4, 1860.

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In the evening, after Mr. Seward had made his great speech in Detroit, he was called upon at his lodgings (Senator Chandler's) by an immense multitude.

Senator Chandler made a few remarks, and then gave way to Senator Seward. Loud cheers were given for Seward as he came forward to the edge of the balcony. He said:

FELLOW CITIZENS: If I appear in obedience to your call to-night, I hope it will only be a new illustration of an old practice of mine, never to give up an honest and virtuous attempt, though I might fail in it the first time. I tried to-day and utterly failed to make the Republicans of Michigan hear, and now, in obedience to your call to-night, renew the effort. The end, on the part of the people, is at hand. It is now upon us, and the simple reason is that the people have become at last attentive, willing to be convinced, and satisfied of the soundness of the Republican faith. It has been a task. We had first to reach the young through the prejudices of the old. I have never expected my own age and generation to relinquish the prejudices in which they and I were born. I have expected, as has been the case heretofore in the history of mankind, that the old would remain unconverted, and that the great work of reformation and progress would rest with the young. That has come at last, for though the Democratic party have denied the as-

endency and obligations of the "higher law," still they bear testimony to it in their lives if not in their conversation. [Laughter.] Democracy will die in obedience to "higher law," and Republicans are born, and will be born, and none but Republicans will be born in the United States after the year of 1860. [Laughter and applause.] The first generation of the young men of the country, educated in the Republican faith, has appeared in your presence by a strong and bold demonstrative representation to-night. It is the young men who constitute the Wide-Awake force. Ten years ago, and twenty years ago, the Wide-Awake force were incapable of being organized. Four years ago it was organized for the distraction of the country and the Republican cause. To-day the young men of the United States are for the first time on the side of freedom against slavery. [Great applause.] Go on, then, and do your work. Put this great cause into the keeping of your great, honest, worthy leader, Abraham Lincoln. [A voice—"The irrepressible conflict."] Believe me sincere when I say that if it had devolved upon me to select from all men in the United States a man to whom I should confide the standard of this cause—which is the object for which I have lived and for which I would be willing to die—that man would have been Abraham Lincoln. [Great applause.]

## GOVERNOR SEWARD'S

## SPEECH AT LA CROSSE, WISCONSIN,

September 14, 1860.

Gov. SEWARD reached La Crosse at ten o'clock this morning, and found a large crowd of citizens—with the inevitable Wide-Awakes among them—assembled on the levee. An address of welcome was presented to Mr. Seward, on the deck of the steamboat, to which he replied as follows:

FELLOW CITIZENS—It has always been my purpose to anticipate the progress of civilization in the West, by visiting the interior portion of the continent before the Indian and his canoe have given place to the white man, the steamer, the railroad and the telegraph. With that view, I explored, in 1856, the banks of Lake Superior, one year only in advance of the establishment of civilization at Sault St. Marie. It has been my misfortune that I have not been able to execute my purpose to visit the Upper Mississippi until I find that I can no longer trace on its shores or bluffs, or among the people who gather around me, a single feature of the portraits of Catlin, which first made me acquainted with this wonderful and romantic region. I must take you as I find you. I have come here at last, attended by a few friends from the Eastern States—from Ohio, from New York, from Michigan, from Massachusetts—with them to see for ourselves the wonders of this great civilization which are opening here to herald the establishment of political power and empire in the Northwest. But our anticipations are surpassed by what we see. None of us would have believed that elegant cities would have so rapidly sprung up on these shores; nor would we have looked for such evidences of improvement and development as would require a hundred years to execute in the States from which we come. This is gratifying to us, because it shows how rapidly the American people can improve resources, develop wealth, and establish constitutional power and guarantees for the protection of freedom. If we found you isolated and separate communities, distinct from ourselves, we still should be obliged to rejoice in such evidences of prosperity and growing greatness. How much more gratifying it is for us to find, in everything that we see and hear, abundant evidences that we are, after all, not separate and distinct peoples—not distinct peoples of Iowa, Wisconsin, New York and Massachusetts, but that we are one people—from Plymouth Rock at least to the banks of the Mississippi and to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. *It is an assurance that enables us to trample under our feet every menace, every threat of disunion, every alarm and apprehension of the dismemberment of this great empire; for we find in the sentiments which you have expressed to us to-day precisely the sentiments which were kindled two hundred*

years ago on Plymouth Rock, and which are spreading wider and wider, taking deeper and deeper roots in the American soil. They give us the sure and reliable guarantee that under every possible change of condition and circumstance the American people will nowhere forget the common interests, the common affections and the common destiny which make them all one people.

Mr. Seward addressed a large audience in the afternoon. He said that he found it difficult to discuss things of the past. Slavery, said he, as a federal institution, is obsolete in this land. Only one argument remains to the Democracy. It comes to us loudly and clamorously from the Southern States, and querulously and timidly from among ourselves. It is that if we do not choose to give up the contest, and if we elect our candidate, the fabric of this Union shall be broken down and shall perish in ruins. That is the only argument left—that the Union will be dissolved if we succeed in electing the honorable statesman from Illinois, Abraham Lincoln. Well, I propose to address a few words to you on the subject, and to examine how imminent that danger is with which we are menaced. The Union is to be dissolved. Certainly. Why not, if Abraham Lincoln, or the Congress of the United States acting with him, shall commit any overt act that shall be unjust or oppressive to the slave States or to any portion of the Union? But they will not wait for that, and they are very wise in not waiting for it, because if they put their threats on that condition they would, in the first place, have no argument against Mr. Lincoln's election, and in the next place they would have to wait until after the election before they raised the argument. [Laughter.] So it must be on the condition, pure and simple, that Abraham Lincoln shall be elected President of the United States.

Well, if he be elected, it will be by a majority of the American people expressing their choice for him under the forms of the constitution, and by the laws made by slaveholders and his opponents, equally with free-soilers and their friends, if Abraham Lincoln shall be elected lawfully and constitutionally, then the government is to come down. Bless my soul, fellow-citizens, what can we do? If we like Abraham Lincoln, as I am sure you do—don't you?—[aye, aye,—] if all the people of the United States like him better than they like John Bell, or Stephen A. Douglas, or Mr. Breckinridge, how can we help his being elected? [Laughter and applause.] If he shall be elected, what is that more than the people of the United States have been guilty of doing for seventy years, every fourth year—

electing one man whom they like better than any other man? Is there anything wrong in that? Can you contrive any way in which you can elect a minority man—a man whom the people do not like? If so, I should like to see the patent produced. What kind of government would it be if we elected a man we did not like instead of a man we did like? My impression is that it would be a government not differing very far from the empire of Austria, where they always manage to elect a man whom the people do not like, and where they have an admirable way of saving the Union by organizing an army of 500,000 men armed to the teeth to maintain the man whom the people do not like, rather than let them have the man whom they do like. [A Voice—That is the way the democrats are doing here.] That is the way they would do everywhere; but that is the very thing which cannot be done here. Fellow citizens, let me say to you that those who talk about destroying this Union, and even those who fear that it is going to be destroyed because the people do what they lawfully may do and what they have a constitutional right to do, know nothing at all of the subject of which they are talking. They have no idea of what the Union is. They have never raised their thoughts so high, nor examined its foundations so low, nor surveyed its proportions broadly enough to know what this Union is. They understand it as a copartnership of thirty-three States, fifteen of which delight in the slave trade, and eighteen of which dislike and repudiate the slave trade, and prefer the hiring and compensation of free laborers.

We may call slavery by gentle names or modest terms, but slavery is nothing less than the trade in slaves, for it makes merchandise of the bodies and souls of men. Now these fifteen States have the right and have the power, the unquestionable and undeniable power, to carry on this trade in slaves within these fifteen States themselves. We do not interfere with them. We have no right to interfere with them. They are sovereign on that subject, and are exempt from our control. But when it comes to the federal Union—the Union which is the government over us all—there their right to trade in slaves in the Territories of the United States has ceased, because the constitution is a constitution to establish justice, not injustice; to maintain peace not by force, but by the consent of the governed, and to perpetuate, not the curse of slavery, but the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity forever. This Union is this nation—is this empire of thirty millions of people. It is not made for mere trade, much less for trade in the bodies and souls of men. It is made for the happiness of the people, for the development of the material resources of the country, to guarantee peace and safety to every citizen in this broad land, and to guarantee him

in the full enjoyment of all his rights of life, liberty and property. It opens to him this vast continent for the pursuit of happiness, and by its power acting on the governments of the Old World and of the New, it makes the American citizen the citizen of the world. [Applause.] This Union of ours gives us a property in the tombs at Quincy and Mount Vernon, and in the battle fields of Bunker Hill, and Saratoga, and Yorktown. Are these all to be surrendered if any State among us should become discontented because they are not able to secure all the special advantages from the Union that seem to be desirable?

If the Union is to be dissolved, I have shown that the way is not very easy to do it. Now let me know who is to do it? It has been said that Alabama and Missouri, and Mississippi and Louisiana, and Florida and South Carolina, will go out, and then the Union will be dissolved. They say, "you will not try to take us back; you will not dare to imbue your hands in brothers' blood to re-establish by force of conquest a Union which we have repudiated and dissolved." They are right. We do not propose to do any such thing. In the first place those States are not going out. If they go out they go out for a cause, and that cause is to save slavery. Well, what are they in for, but to have slavery saved for them by the federal Union? Why would they go out, for they could not maintain and defend themselves against their own slaves? We would see them march up, one after another, under the black flag, trampling under foot those stars and stripes of ours. If it were possible I should like to see the experiment of old Massachusetts going out and endeavoring to carry Plymouth rock with her, or I would like to see New York go out and carry the harbor and Catskill mountains with her. What do you think the rest of the States would say? I think they would fold their arms and see whether they behaved themselves, and they would let them stay out just as long as they behaved themselves. Well, what would they do if they got out and did not behave themselves. If New York should levy taxes and imposts, and instead of paying them into the national exchequer should keep them on her own account, that would not be behaving well. Those who think that for nothing or for any imaginary cause, the Union is to be dissolved or destroyed, have no idea of the nature of the government under which they live, or of the character of the people. Go on, then, and do your duty. The lesson of public life is one that is easy to be learned. It resolves itself simply into this—to ascertain, as you always can, what, in the day in which you live, is the great work for the welfare of mankind; do that work fearlessly, in the love of your fellow men and in the fear of God, and the Union will survive you and me and your posterity for a thousand years. [Applause.]

## GOVERNOR SEWARD'S

## SPEECH AT LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS

September 28, 1860.

Mr. SEWARD returned from Lawrence to Leavenworth on Thursday, hoping to escape any further attention in the latter town, but he was not so fortunate. The Wide Awakes mustered in considerable numbers, and with music, transparencies and flaming torches, marched to the Planters' Hotel, where there was already a large crowd assembled. Mr. Seward could not resist the demand made upon him, and so he, though unwillingly, left his room, walked down to the parlor and stepping through the open window presented himself, all unattended, on the stand which had been constructed in front of the building. His appearance was greeted with enthusiastic cheers, and he found himself, like Mr. Douglas, "betrayed" into making a speech.

He indulged in anticipation of the time when on this broad continent there was to be no other power than that of the United States, and desecated on the importance of their position midway between the two oceans. One or more great States, he said, must rise here in the valley of the Mississippi. It might have been, and would have been, if her people had been as wise as you are, that State which lies opposite you on the Missouri river. I do not know that the State of Missouri will not yet be that great State, for there is a hope, there is assurance, that Missouri will ultimately, taught by the instruction you are giving her and the example you are setting her, be a free State. She has soil as fertile, skies as genial, as those with which God has blessed any portion of the earth. That State will ultimately be one of the greatest, most respected, most prosperous, most honored States in this American Union.

Still he treated of the fundamental conditions of a State and of a republic, which conditions are simply these: securing to every man equal and exact justice, and the fullest opportunity for the improvement of his own condition and the elevation of his own character by the laws and customs that we establish. In this respect you are ahead of Missouri, ahead of Nebraska, ahead of Iowa, and ahead of every State in the American Union, by reason of the great injustice suffered, the great wrongs endured, and the great resolution and courage with which you have overcome them all. Freedom in the Terri-

ories of the United States is to all the rest of the world a mere abstraction. But it has been your misfortune that your Territory was made the theatre of a conflict, the theatre of the trial of that "irrepressible conflict"—[laughter and cheers]—a conflict of mind with mind, voice with voice, vote with vote, of bullet against bullet, and of cannon against cannon. [Loud and tumultuous cheering.] You have acquired the education of freedom by practical experience. You have the start of all the other States. If there is a people in any part of the world I ought to cherish with enduring respect, with the warmest gratitude and with the deepest interest, assuredly it is the people of Kansas; for, but for the practical trial they have given to the system which I had adopted, but for the vindication at so much risk and so much cost of their highest rights under the law, I, for one, would have gone to my grave a disappointed man, a false teacher in the estimation of the American people. [Applause.] Yours is the thirty-first of thirty-four States of the Union which I have visited for the purpose of knowing their soil, their skies and their people. I have visited, in the course of my lifetime, more than three-fourths of the civilized nations of the world; and of all the States and nations which I have seen, that people which I hold to be the wisest, the worthiest and the best, is the people of this little State. [Applause.] The reason of it is the old proverb that "Handsome is that handsome does." If other nations have higher education, greater refinement, and have cultivated the virtues and refinements of civilized life more than you have, I have yet to see the nation or the people that has been able, in its very inception, in its infancy, in its very organization, to meet the shock of the aristocratic system, through which other nations have been injured or ruined, to repel all attacks, and to come out before the world in the attitude of a people who will not, under any form of persuasion, seduction or intimidation, consent, any one of them, to be a slave, any one of them to make a slave, any one of them to hold a slave, or any foot of their territory to be trod by a slave, or by a man who is not equal to every other man in the eye of the law. [Applause.]

# GOVERNOR SEWARD'S

## SPEECH AT ATCHISON, KANSAS,

September 28, 1860

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Mr. Seward was warmly welcomed by the citizens and ladies of Atchison, and among others by Mr. Fairchild, the Mayor, himself a democrat, and by General Pomeroy. He was introduced to the assemblage by Mr. Martin, and made a very effective speech. Referring to the apology made by Mr. Martin, for the inadequacy of the reception, he said that they might judge of what he himself thought of it, when he declared to them that his welcome bore all the impress of those that he had seen given in other countries to hereditary despots. Compared with other demonstrations in the Territory, this was unsurpassed. [Atchison was one of the "border ruffian" towns on the Missouri river.—Rep.] He said he had tried to avoid all this demonstration, which only tended to make him misunderstood, for the world might think that in coming to Kansas he came to receive honors, instead of coming to learn what was necessary to enable him to perform his duty to her citizens better than he had heretofore been able to do.

I find, said he, the Territory of Kansas as rich as, if not richer, in its soil and in its evidences of material prosperity, than any State with which I have been acquainted, and I have already visited thirty-one of the thirty-four States of the Union. In climate I know of none that seems to be so desirable. It is now suffering—in its southern and western counties more especially—the privations of want, falling very heavily on its latest settlers, resulting from the absence of rain for a period of ten or twelve months. I go out of the Territory of Kansas with a sadness that hangs over and depresses me—not because I have not found the country far surpassing all my expectations of its improvement and cultivation—not because I have not found here a prosperous and happy people—but because I have found families—some from my own State, some from other States and some from foreign countries—who were induced—and justly and wisely induced—to come to this region within the last year or two, and who, having exhausted all their means and all their resources in establishing homes for themselves, have been disappointed in gaining from their labor provision for the supply of their wants.

I hope that the tales which I have heard are exaggerated, and that families are not actually perishing for want in some of the western counties of Kansas. I have faith in the complete success of your system, and in the prosperity and development of the State of Kansas; I have it for the most obvious reason, that if Kansas is a failure my whole life has been worse than a failure; but if Kansas shall prove a success—as I know it will—then I shall stand redeemed, at least in history, for the interest I have taken in

the establishment of civilization on the banks of the Missouri river upon the principles and policy which you have laid down. I pray you—you who are rich, you who are prosperous—to appoint active and careful men to make researches in the Territory for those who are suffering by this dreadful visitation of Providence; to take care that the emigrant who came in last winter and last spring be not suffered, through disappointment and want, to return to the State whence he came, carrying back a tale of suffering and privation and distress which might retard for years the development of society here. I hope you will not regard this advice of mine as being without warrant. I give it for your own sake—I give it for the sake of the people of Kansas, as well as because my sympathies have been moved by the distress I have seen around me.

If this advice shall be taken in good part, then I am free to tell you that in my judgment there is not the least necessity for any person leaving this Territory, notwithstanding the greatness of the calamity that has befallen it. *I have seen whole districts that have produced neither the winter wheat, nor the spring wheat, nor the rye, nor the buckwheat, nor the potatoes, nor the root of any kind;* yet I have seen on all your prairies, upland and bottom land, cattle and horses in great numbers, and all of them in most perfect condition; and I am sure that there is a supply of stock in this Territory which, if disposed of, would produce all that is necessary to relieve every one in the Territory. What is required, therefore, is simply that you should seek out want where it exists, and apply your own surplus means to relieve it. If this should fail, and if you should feel it necessary to apply to your countrymen in the East for aid, I will second that appeal—I and the gentlemen who have been visiting the country with me—and it will not be our fault if we do not send back from the East the material comforts that will cheer and reanimate those who are depressed and suffering. This State, larger than any of the old thirteen States, has not one acre that is unsuceptible of cultivation; not one foot that may not be made productive of the supplies of the wants of human life, comforts and luxuries. The question was propounded to me—not of my seeking—it came before me, because I was in a position where I must meet all questions of this kind—it came some six years ago: Do the interests of human society require that this land of Kansas should be possessed by slaveholders and cultivated with slaves, or possessed and cultivated by free men, every one of whom shall own the land which he cultivates and the muscles with which he tills the earth? When I look back at that period, only six or seven years ago, it seems

strange to me that any man living on this continent, himself a free man and having children who are free, himself a free laborer and having children who must be free laborers, himself earning his own subsistence and having children who must depend on their own efforts for their support, should be willing to resign a portion of this continent so great, a soil so rich, a climate so genial, to the support of African negroes instead of white men.

Africa was not crowded for Kansas. Africa has never sent to this country one voluntary exile or emigrant, and never will. The sons of Africa have lands which for them are more productive, have habits more congenial and skies better tempered than yours are. I have supposed it far better, therefore, to leave the people of Africa where God planted them, on their native shores. But the case was different with men of my own race—the white men, the blue-eyed men, the yellow-haired men of England, of Ireland, of Scotland, of France, of Germany, of Italy. Ever since this continent was discovered oppression in every form has been driving them from those lands to seek homes for their subsistence and support on this continent. There is no difference between us all except this: that my father was driven out of Europe by want and privation some hundred years ago, and others some hundred years later, and some have just come, and tens of thousands, aye, millions, have yet to come. We are all exiles directly, or represent those who were exiles—all exiles made by oppression, superstition and tyranny in Europe. We are of one family, race and kindred, all here in the pursuit of happiness—all seeking to improve our condition—all seeking to elevate our character. My sympathies have gone with this class of men. My efforts have been, as they must always be, to lay open before them the vast regions of this continent, to the end that we may establish here a higher, a better, and a happier civilization than that from which ourselves or our ancestors were exiled in foreign lands.

This land should not only be a land of free-

dom, a land of knowledge and religion, but it should be, above all, a land which, as yet cannot be said with truth of any part of Europe or any other part of the world, a land of civil liberty—and a land can only be made a land of liberty by adopting the principle which has never yet obtained in Europe, and which is only to be attained by learning it from ourselves—that is, that every human being, being necessarily born the subject of a government, is a member of the State, and has a natural right to be a member of the State, and that, in the language of the Declaration of Independence, all men are born equal and have inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Some of the States were not established on this principle. They were established a long time ago, and under circumstances which prevented the adoption of this principle. For those States, members of our Union who have been unable or even unwilling to adopt this principle, I have only to say that I leave them free to enjoy whatever of happiness, and to attain whatever of prosperity, they can enjoy and attain with their system. But when I am called upon to establish a government for a new State, then I demand the application of the principles of the Declaration of Independence—[applause]—that every man ought to be and should be a free man. Society can have but two forms by which the individual can defend himself from oppression. *One is that which puts the musket into his hand and tells him as the last resort to defend himself and his liberty. The other is that which puts into his hand the ballot, and tells him in every exigency to defend his rights with the ballot. I do maintain that in founding a new State we have the perfect liberty as well as the perfect right to establish a government which shall secure every man in his rights; or rather, I do say that you must put into every man's hand—not into the hands of one—the ballot; or put into every man's hand, and not into the hands of a few, the bullet, so that every man shall be equal before the law in his power as a citizen. All men shall have the ballot, or none; all men shall have the bullet, or none.* [Applause.]

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## GOVERNOR SEWARD'S

SPEECH AT CLEVELAND, OHIO,

OCTOBER 4, 1860.

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Gov. SEWARD being introduced was received with rousing cheers. He spoke as follows:

Several Republican citizens, of more eastern States than this, including myself, have been making a tour of observation in the West. We have found every reason to believe, and trust confidently, that Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana and Minnesota, are safe for the Republican cause in the coming election.

[Cheers.] We also know of no Eastern Free State that is doubtful. I am reported, as I find, to have said at Springfield that I have been urged from home to go back to the State of New York: This is erroneous. What I did say was, that some ill-informed Republicans in the West had been alarmed by the reports of coalitions formed, or attempted to be formed, by the opposition in that State, and asked me whether I

thought it was necessary to go home and look after my own State. I say now, as I said then, that I should go home when I found any reason to believe that the Republican majority was in any danger of being reduced below 60,000. I have had no advices of that kind, and no communications from the State of New York during this journey except from a respectable lady residing at Auburn, who confines herself to taking charge of her children and mine, and leaves politics to take care of themselves.

We have visited Kansas, and I ask your leave to bring the condition of that Territory before you, for your careful and kind consideration. The soil and the skies of Kansas are as propitious as any people on earth ever enjoyed—the people as free, as true and as brave as any in the world. They are suffering severely from a drought so great that I think it was scarcely exaggerated when they told me they had had no rain in a large portion of the Territory for a whole year. We found that whole districts had produced less vegetable support for human life than are to be found in many a garden which we have passed in coming through the State of Ohio. Districts in which the winter wheat, sowed last year, was necessarily plowed up and sowed in the spring with spring wheat. The spring wheat was plowed up and the ground planted with corn. The corn proved a failure and was followed with potatoes. The potatoes were blasted, and followed by buckwheat, which also proved a failure. I think that this is a true description of the condition of tillage of perhaps two-thirds of Kansas. Still, there will be no great famine or distress there. The occupants who have been there for two, three, four or five years are comfortable and well-to-do, as appears abundantly from their stock, their fences, their dwelling houses—framed of wood, and very often substantially and well built of brick and stone. Large portions of the State are as populous, and exhibit all the signs of comfort and thrift, equal to what are found even in Ohio. But there are emigrants who have resided there for only a year whose whole means have been expended in procuring farms and shelter, and planting their crops, which have successively failed. Many of these are leaving the Territory—some say so many as one hundred a day. They ought to be relieved, and a very little assistance would enable them to remain there and retain their possessions and improvements, and resume the culture of their fields, under more favorable auspices, next spring. With much diffidence, I beg to commend this subject to the citizens of Ohio. Perhaps a larger portion of the Republicans of Kansas are emigrants from Ohio than from any other State. Do not forget that Kansas is the most important outpost of the Republican army; that it is yet, on paper at least, in a state of siege; though the enemy has been driven out, a treaty of peace and independence has not yet been signed.

Fellow citizens, I am unable to make you what is called a speech, for I have left my voice at Chicago; but I will say something, in order, if possible, to not altogether disappoint any expectations which you may entertain. You have come together, not for amusement, or to gratify passion or prejudice. Each of you, as a citizen of the United States, is invested with a portion of sovereignty over the greatest and most important nation of the world. Time is divided into

past, present and the future, but there is in truth no present. Each one of us, therefore, lives in and for the past, or for the future. The worst use of time that could be made is to employ it in concerns of the past. The past ought to have taken care of itself; if it has not we can do nothing to change it. The future, only, is subject in any degree to our control and direction. The past was the time of tradition; the Revolution of '76, the Republican Revolution of 1800, the war of 1812, the Tariff controversy, the question of the Bank of the United States, have passed away, with the generations which discussed or acted in them. A man may have his opinion upon one or other of those subjects, but it leads to no practical conclusion now. Action for the future concerns freedom or slavery within the territories of the United States, and to discharge our responsibilities well and wisely, we must bury our traditions, emancipate ourselves and become free, enlightened and intelligent men. The Past was for the East—the Future is for the West. Empire has culminated in the East, and is now passing to the West. The Past was for Slavery, which at one time was practically universal in the East. The Future is Freedom, which, in the order of Providence, is to be universal in the West.

The change from past Eastern Slavery to future Western Freedom is to be effected simply by bringing the mind of the nation to a just apprehension of what slavery is. Our Fathers in the East understood it to be a question simply of trade. In their view, while they allowed the practice of slavery, they held a slave to be a subject of commerce. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, announced on the other hand, that slavery is a question of human rights. While they left the regulation of that subject within the States themselves, they did establish the principle that in the common Territories of the United States and within the sphere of Federal action, every man is a person, a man, a free man, who could neither hold another in slavery nor be held in bondage by any other man. The past (since the adoption of the Constitution) has been occupied with trials to compromise this conflict between property in man and the freedom of man, and these trials have proved unsuccessful. The future demands the settlement of it now by a return to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. This conclusion can be reached only by accepting the principle of the political equality of men within the exclusive range of the Federal Constitution. This is simply a matter of education. It is not worth while to spend much time upon this subject in trying to convert old men; they cannot last long, and therefore can do little harm. We all become settled in our opinions and confirmed in our habits as we grow old. The Republican party is a party chiefly of the young men. Each successive year brings into its ranks an increasing proportion of the young men of this country.

This is the ground of my hope, of my confidence, that before this generation shall have passed away, the Democratic party will cease to exist; and the Republican party, or at least its principles, will be accepted and universally prevail. If it be true, as the Declaration of Independence asserts, that the right of all men to

political equality is self-evident, nothing can prevent the acknowledgment of that fact by the generation now rising, since that truth is distinctly inculcated now for the first time through all the agencies of private and public education. The young man who shall reject it will find himself in controversy with the ever-growing sentiment of his countrymen, and the settled public opinion of the world. Let him take heed how

he enters upon a course which can bring nothing but unavailing contention, disappointment and regret over the failure of his ambition and of his desire for usefulness. Train up your children in the belief of this great principle of our Constitution, and they will secure for themselves the satisfaction of leading useful and honorable lives, and follow you to your graves with more than even filial veneration.

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## GOVERNOR SEWARD'S

### SPEECH AT BUFFALO, NEW YORK,

OCTOBER 5, 1860.

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FELLOW CITIZENS—I understand this demonstration. It is only kindness that makes it turbulent. But in order that you may hear a voice which has been exercised for five weeks, it will be necessary for you to hold your tongues and open your ears. I am now within a hundred and fifty miles of my home, and I remember that “a prophet is not without honor save in his own country.” So am I not going to prophesy so near my own place of residence. I thank you sincerely for this welcome of myself and of the party with whom I have been traveling in the far West.

I have seen, within a year, all the principal people who inhabit the shores of the Mediterranean; and within the last five weeks have journeyed among the population dwelling along the Mediterranean of America. I have seen those decayed and desolate countries—the sites of the greatest nations of antiquity—now covered with ruins and some in a state almost of semi-barbarism. The chief cause of that decay and desolation I believe to have been the existence in those countries of human bondage.

The one great evil which could bring down our country to such a level, would be the introduction of Slavery to the lands surrounding the Mediterranean of America. Therefore it is that I have devoted what little talent I possess to prevent the ban of Slavery from falling upon the fertile valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri.

Having seen many States, I come back to New York, prouder of her, and prouder that I belong to her, than I was when I left. I estimate her so highly, not alone for what she is or has, *at home*, but also for what she is and has in the Great West. While I see around me here, so many generous and noble men endeavoring to maintain her in her proud position, I have also found, all along the shores of the great lakes, along the banks of the great rivers, and even at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, children of the State of New York, almost as numerous as at home. Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois and Kansas, are all daughters of New York, so is California, and more

States have been formed under her auspices, then there were at the beginning of the Union. Emigrants from Erie county, from Chautauqua, from Cattaraugus, from Oswego, and from all the counties of this great State, people the West. It was a son of New York who first applied steam to locomotion; a citizen of New York, and also its chief magistrate, who began and perfected the Erie Canal, and over that canal the stream of emigration has flowed which has founded new States. It has carried, sometimes, in a day the people of a western town, a county in a few weeks, and a State in two or three years. New York has built the West.

But I am, perhaps, speaking in too general terms. Doubtless the spirit which animates you at present, is roused in regard to the coming election. It will gladden you when I say in relation to the state of the West, and I have had assurances there which leave no doubt that it will give its vote for Lincoln. I have seen him at his own home, and I have now to say, as I said before I went West, that he is a man eminently worthy of the support of every honest voter, and well qualified to discharge the duties of the Chief Magistracy. Above all, he is *reliable*; and I repeat at the foot of Lake Erie, what I said at the head of it; that if it had fallen to me to name a man to be elected as next President of the United States, I would have chosen Abraham Lincoln.

I have promised out West that the State of New York will give him 60,000 majority in November. Am I right in this? [A voice, “doubtless it!”] Then you are to multiply that by two, are you? Well, that is no more than you ought to do, and if you keep “wide awake” it is no more than you *can* do.

Now, my friends, I am deliberating on this estimate of yours, and I wish to know what you have to say for Erie county. What majority will Erie county give? [Divers answers were made to this query; “5,000” seemed to be the prevalent figure; others said, 2,500 out of the city of Buffalo.] Mr. Seward: Aye, you count majorities in the rural districts. That is right and safe too.

It is very fortunate that whatever may be the way with the population on the sidewalks, the rural districts are safe for freedom. Why, gentlemen, you couldn't take any man three months from Main street, out into the free open country, without converting him from Democracy and making him so that he would never think of voting for a Democratic candidate, or a two-faced candidate, or a candidate with half a dozen principles. Well! we'll see what we can do with the cities this time. When the cities begin to find out that they are not going to rule the country, they will conclude, perhaps, that it is better that the country should rule them.

It is very strange that Irishmen and Germans and Swedes, so long as they remain on the side-

walks, should wish to be ruled by men in the interest of the slave power. [Cries, "It is not so here."] But you say, it is not so here. I have been West and have seen foreigners there also who did not wish to be ruled by slaveholders.

But I have already talked more than I had intended, and must stop. [A voice, "What about Kansas?"] You wish to hear about Kansas? I will tell you. What is the population of Buffalo? [A voice, "81,000."] Well, whenever the city of Buffalo shall have come to be inhabited by 100,000, or 103,000—which is just the population of Kansas—as virtuous, as wise, as brave, as fearless as the 103,000 of Kansas, there will be an end of the "irrepressible conflict." Good night.

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## GOVERNOR SEWARD'S

### SPEECH AT LAWRENCE, KANSAS,

SEPTEMBER 26. 1860.

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FELLOW CITIZENS—A long cherished desire of mine is fulfilled; at last, a long deferred duty is about to be paid—the desire of my heart to see the people of Kansas—the duty that I felt I owed to the people of Kansas, to see them in their own homes and in their own houses. I have visited your chief cities Leavenworth and Lawrence—where the army of mercenaries sent by the Slave States battered down the hotel, under an indictment and conviction in a court of the United States as a nuisance, because it sheltered the freemen who had come here to see Freedom established in Kansas. And I have looked, also, upon the Constitution Hall, in Topeka, where the army of the United States, for the first time in the history of our nation, dispersed a lawful and peaceable assembly of citizens of the United States, convened to counsel upon the best means of protecting their lives, their property and sacred honor. You, people of Kansas, whom I have not been able to see in your homes, have come up here to greet me, from the valleys of the Kansas, the Big Blue, and the Neosho, and from all your plains and valleys.

I seem not to have journeyed hither, but to have floated across the sea,—the prairie sea,—under bright autumnal skies, wafted by genial breezes into the heavens where I wished to be. I am not sorry that my visit has occurred at this particular time, so sad in its influence, when nature, that sends its rains upon the unjust as well as the just, has for a year withdrawn its genial showers from the soil of Kansas. It is well to see one's friends in darkness and sadness, as well as in the hour of joy.

I have beheld the scenes of your former conflicts. I have also looked upon that beautiful

eminence on the banks of the Kansas river, where Leecompton sits a lonely widow, [cheers and laughter,] desolate and mourning, her ambitious structures showing how high is the ambition of Slavery, and their desolation showing how easy, after all, is her downfall. I would have seen more of Kansas, if I had not been interrupted and impeded in my course through the State by the hospitality and kindness of the people, which I could not turn aside. I have been excessively retentive at Leavenworth and Topeka, refusing to open my lips, unless my jaws were pried open, because I do not like to say things by piecemeal.

I desire to speak openly to you, in the broad daylight, in the hearing of the women as well as men of Kansas; and here, where I have renewed the memories of the contest waged upon this soil, while I see around me the broken implements with which that contest was waged by the aggressors under the plea of popular sovereignty, which left the people perfectly free to do just as they please, subject to the Constitution of the United States, which they were left perfectly free to interpret as they pleased, while the authorities at Washington have never been able to interpret it.

When I look at field after field, and cabin after cabin, and church after church, and school house after school house, where but six years ago was the unbroken range of savages, I am prepared here—not expecting to escape being heard on the Pacific as well as the Atlantic coast—I am prepared to declare, and do declare you people of Kansas, the most intelligent, and the bravest and most virtuous people of the United States. [Applause.] That is the most intelligent, and

bravest and most virtuous people, which can take the banner of Human Freedom when it is trailed in the dust by the government of its choice, and can and does raise it aloft and protect it, and bear it to success and honor—and that without bloodshed and violence.

People of Kansas! you are at once the youngest, the newest people—the newest State, as well as the youngest of all the thirty-four American States; you are the poorest in wealth, the least favored with political power, for you are nearly disfranchised—and yet you are the most inflexible, and the most constant. The two richest States in the Union are Massachusetts and New York, but they are so merely because they are the freest, the wisest, and the most liberty-loving States of the Union. I apprehend that you scarcely understand yourselves the importance of the position which you hold in this Republic. You will perhaps be surprised, when I tell you that the secret of all the interest I have felt in you has been merely this: that you occupy a pivotal position in the Republic of the United States, with regard to Slavery and Freedom. There is no contest, no difference on this subject, along the line of the Northeastern States, for they are hostile to Slavery. There is no difference on the line of the Southern States, for they are in favor of Slavery. But there has been a severe strife between Freedom and Slavery, for the establishment of Freedom or Slavery, in all the wide region reaching from the Missouri to the Pacific Ocean. If Freedom was to triumph in this contest, there was no point where she could expect to meet the enemy, except on the very place she has met it—here. And if you had been false, Slavery would have swept along through the Indian Territory, Texas, and the whole of the country, including the Rocky Mountains, to the Pacific Ocean.

California was imperfectly secured to Freedom, and with a compromise. You opened a new campaign here, to reclaim what was given up in that already broken compromise, and it has been crowned with a complete victory. Henceforth, the battle is ended; henceforth, the emigrant from the Eastern States, from Germany and Ireland, the free laborer, in short, from every land on the earth, when he reaches the Missouri river, will enter on a broad land of impartial liberty.

He can safely pursue his way under the banner of Freedom to the foot of the Rocky Mountains; and there the hosts of freemen from the western coast will unite and join under the same banner, extending North and South. Everywhere, except in Missouri, is a land of Freedom. Missouri stands an island of Slavery in the midst of a broad ocean of Liberty. You occupy not only the pivotal position, but it was your fortune to attempt this great enterprise in behalf of Freedom at a critical period for mankind. Slavery was then just 200 years old, in the United States. In the year 1776, our fathers gave battle to Slavery; they declared war against it, and pledged their lives and sacred honor, in the service against it. Practically, it was to be destroyed peaceably, under the Constitution of the United States. Those good men believed it would reach its end long before this period; but the people became demoralized. The war went back, *back, back*, until 1854—until all guarantees of Freedom, in every part of the United States

were abandoned, and Kansas, that had for forty years been perfectly free from the footsteps of the slave, was pronounced by the highest power of the Government as much a Slave State as South Carolina. The flag of the United States was made the harbinger, not of Freedom, but of Human Bondage.

It was at this crisis that the people of Kansas appeared on the stage, reviled and despised, and lifted the banner of Liberty on high, and bore it manfully forward, defied all force, and yet counteracted peaceably all the efforts made to subdue them. In three years they not only secured Freedom in Kansas, but in all the Territory of the United States.

Freedom made Kansas as free as Massachusetts, and made the Federal Government, on and after the 4th of March next, the patron of Freedom—what it was at the beginning. You have made Freedom national, and Slavery sectional. Had you receded after your first conditional or provisional Government was dispersed at Topeka, by cannon and bayonet; had you surrendered and accepted the Lecompton Constitution; had you even abandoned the Wyandott Constitution, at any stage of the battle, it would have destroyed the cause of Freedom, not only in Kansas, but also throughout the whole Union.

I know I shall be justified in history; shall I not be justified by cotemporaries? Wise, best, bravest of citizens; no other hundred thousand people in the United States have contributed as much for the cause of Freedom, as Kansas. Before this people, then, appearing for the first time, I bow myself, as I have never done before to any other people, in profound reverence. [Sensation.] I salute you with gratitude and affection.

Fellow citizens, my time here, as well as yours, is brief. It is but few of many subjects upon which we can even touch. As to the least important subject of all, myself, I give you, in one word, my sincere and heartfelt thanks. I had formed my opinion of you from your past conduct and history. I have not been disappointed in your kindness. For all that remains to me, give yourselves no trouble. Freedom is saved and assured to California and Kansas, and therefore assured to the future states in the Rocky Mountains. If I may, indeed, hope that my poor name will find a place in the history of California and Kansas, then all the ambition I have ever cherished is more than abundantly satisfied.

The second consideration to which I would advert for a moment, is this sadness which lies like a pall over a large part of the Territory of Kansas—the result of the withdrawal of the rain for a period so long as to excite apprehensions of a famine.

I have carefully examined the condition of Kansas—the river bottoms and the prairies, and my conclusion is—not more from the condition of the crops, than from the character of the people—that there will be no famine in Kansas, because there is wealth and credit enough in Kansas to carry you through more than one year like this. You will take care of this credit, and retain it, so far as possible. If this will not do, then appeal to your friends in the East, and they will not see you suffer. I myself will do what I can for you. Be of good cheer. Suffer yourselves not to be discouraged. There are cattle

enough on your thousand hills, if sold—although it is a fearful sacrifice—to carry you through and sustain you during the winter, and still come out in the spring with milch cows and working oxen. And we who are here—coming from States whence emigration flows, and from the Atlantic States, where emigration is received and sent onward—will all do our share to direct emigration to Kansas, assuring them from our own observation that it is a climate as salubrious as any in the world, and a soil as rich as any the sun ever shone upon. This is a smiling and fair dominion, and we think, were we set back twenty or thirty years, the place of all others that we would seek in the United States would be the plains of Kansas. [Applause.]

One other consideration. When we see before us the transactions of this day, do they not illustrate the subject of the “irrepressible conflict?” [Cheers and laughter.] Did not our forefathers, in 1787, settle this whole question, and, by an ordinance, put at rest forever the question of Freedom and Slavery in the United States? Certainly they did. Did they not, in 1820, settle this conflict forever? Did they not declare that all north of 36 deg. 30 lat., and west of the Missouri river should be given up to Freedom? Certainly they did. Was it not settled finally a third time in 1850, when Kansas and Nebraska were still saved to Freedom, and all lying west of them? Was it not settled a fourth time in 1854, when it was ordained that the people of Kansas were free to choose Freedom or Slavery for themselves, subject to the Constitution of the United States? Was it not settled for the fifth time, when the Lecompton Constitution was adopted by one scratch of the pen of the President of the United States and the Supreme Court—and this became a land of Slavery?

A VOICE: We did not take that government.

MR. SEWARD: You didn't take it—that is just what I was going to say.

Why was not Slavery settled by all these settlements? For no other reason than because the conflict was irrepressible. But you determined, in your struggle for Kansas, that she shall be forever free; and that settles the question.

A VOICE: It is not settled yet. There's New Mexico.

MR. SEWARD: My friend tells me it is not settled yet, but it is settled in Kansas and for Kansas. In New Mexico they tried to settle it in favor of Slavery, but they now find out it is irrepressible there. I think you will find that the whole battle was settled to the deliverance of Kansas, and that henceforth Freedom will be triumphant in all the Territories of the United States.

And yet, while this is clear to these intelligent, practical and sensible men who have gone through the problem, what a contrast is seen here to what is occurring in other parts of the United States, where they suppose, because they are older, they are so much wiser; where they believe me still as false a prophet as Mohammed. In Pennsylvania they have not yet made up their minds that there is any conflict at all, much less that it is irrepressible. In the Southern States they are actually organising a militia against the freemen who are establishing Freedom in Kansas and New Mexico, as if the settlers in Kansas were no wiser than they are, and would seek to

propagate Freedom by the sword. When freemen want to make a Territory free, they give it ballot boxes, and schoolhouses and churches; and Slavery will never triumph where these are first established.

But to go a little deeper into the subject. In 1776 and 1787, there were wise men administering the Government of the United States; and if you look into their sayings, you will see they had all found out that this Republic was to be the home of an ever-increasing people, so free, so proud, so wise, so vigorous, that they could not be confined in the old thirteen States; they saw that this Republic was to be the home of free men, of free labor, and not slave labor. So, they set apart all the Territory within their reach, *i. e.*, all they then had control over—for Freedom and for free emigration. Now, contrast that which was wisely done in 1787 with what actually happened in 1850! In 1820 it was found that the population of the United States had crossed the Mississippi. Then what was necessary was, to provide exactly the same kind of government for the Territory west of the Mississippi, as had been provided for the country east of it; so that, when the government should be extended to the Pacific, all should be free. Could anything have been wiser than for Government in 1850 to have given Freedom to these Territories? But it did not. They had previously given Missouri to Slavery, and said Freedom might take the rest; but now they wished to block up free labor by the barrier of slave Missouri. Could anything have been more absurd than to thus attempt to stay the course of freemen? Either free labor must go out of the United States, or it must go round Missouri to Kansas and New Mexico. It did go round for a short season, but then it broke their barriers, and passed through the very garrison of the slave power.

There were long ago good and brave men who foretold this result. There was John Quincy Adams, who remonstrated against the extension of Slavery as political suicide.

There were Henry W. Taylor, James Tallmadge, and peerless among them all, Rufus King, who declared in the Senate of the United States, that the Slave Power in Missouri would prove a mockery; that this land was for liberty; and that the Slave Power would repent in sackcloth and ashes. But these good men were overruled. Missouri and Arkansas came into the Union with Slavery. And for what reason? It was because the slaveholders had property—capital which must not be confiscated, even to prevent Slavery from being established over as large a domain as half of Europe. This was the reason the Federal Government determined to secure their slaves to the capitalists of Missouri. What capital had Missouri in slaves that was saved at that time? All the slaves in Missouri at that time, were exactly 10,220 in number—and I was born a slaveholder, and know something of the value of slaves, at that time three hundred dollars a head, including the old and young, the sick and decrepid, which made the total value of the slaves in Missouri, in 1820, \$3,066,000. Arkansas then had 1,600 slaves, worth \$480,000. The whole capital of slaves in Missouri and Arkansas was about \$3,500,000, but to save that capital in negroes, the great compromise of 1850 was made, and Kansas

given up to Slavery. Three million five hundred thousand dollars was a large sum, but nobody then or ever proposed to confiscate it. They were left free to sell their slaves; they were at liberty to keep them, so only that they should import no more. There was no need of confiscating the slaves in Missouri any more than there was in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, so this \$3,500,000 was never in jeopardy.

Now then, fellow citizens, even if it had been confiscated, how small a sacrifice of property it was, weighed against the incalculable blessing of Freedom over the American continent. Look now at the advantages of their success, and see how unavailing are the contrivances of politicians, and even of nations, to counteract and control the great moving principle of the age. Who would have thought, and who now, of the wisest men in the Slave States and many from the other States, can believe that by making Missouri a Slave State in 1820, forty years afterwards, when the canals of New York and Pennsylvania were burdened with commerce, when steamers dotted all our inland lakes and rivers, when teachers and preachers were abroad through the land, that they could make a Slave State out of Kansas? They tried it, and what have they got? They have got Slavery in Missouri and Arkansas; Freedom in Kansas, and practically in New Mexico, in Utah and California. That is what comes from attempting to bind up the decrees of Providence in flaxen bands by human skill. [Applause.] Why did their attempt fail? It failed because society has its rights and its necessities. It was just as necessary that men should move out of Massachusetts and New York and the Western States, and Missouri even, into the Territories, as it is necessary that Kansas and other Territories should receive them when they have come. It was just as necessary that the exile of Europe should have a place where he was perfectly free to have no slaves. The movement of the age is quickened by the agency of mind and of inventions; all the operations of trade, the arts and manufactures, are accelerated by mechanical skill. Who thinks now of drawing himself to town with a pair of mules? The steam engine carries him there with less cost than he could walk or go on wagons. All the implements with which work and husbandry are done, are the product of mechanical skill. Every farmer sees that by the improvements made in the implements for cultivating the soil, every year he is able to dispense with the services of one more laborer, who becomes himself an independent farmer.

Europe has been in a state of commotion for more than sixty years, and still is. Ireland was bound to seek relief; Germany was overpopulated, and must have an outlet for her energy and labor. What madness and folly, then, that the statesmen of 1820 should open this country to Slavery, and instead of securing it teeming with wealth and abundant cultivation, have it abandoned to the product of negroes at \$1,500 a head! [Laughter.] It is because I speak so plainly of these things that some believe me not a very conservative man.

I think you are wiser than your fathers, wherever you may have come from. I had a father who was a very wise man, but I think I should be unworthy of him, had I not sought to improve

my better opportunities to become a wiser man than he. It would have been much better for Missouri and Arkansas could they have foreseen the consequence of their action. The consequence of their embracing Slavery is that the tide of emigration in 1820, which would naturally have come up the Mississippi river was driven round into other regions. Instead of entering at New Orleans, it sought the ports of New York and Quebec, peopled the Provinces of Canada and the line of the Northern Lakes. There are three millions of settlers in the Provinces which Slavery in Missouri sent round there. This same tide of emigration peopled Northern Ohio, Wisconsin and Michigan, and thence passed west to Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas. Missouri has thus lost from her soil all this population. At last the mass of emigration got to be so dense that it could not divide and spread itself, so making a great rush, it swept through Missouri, through the very strongholds of Slavery. There is not within the longitude of my voice probably one man, if Missouri had been wise, and had not driven emigration from its natural course, that would ever have set foot on the soil of Kansas. There is population enough in Kansas now to make Missouri a great State. But Missouri does not want to be a great State. She prefers to wait and be a Slave State. [Laughter.] She has no affection for the people of the North, but a great affection for the people of the South. She has no affection for free labor, but a great affection for slave labor. She has no free speech; she is satisfied to have what she may say, or may not, controlled by the Slave Power. This is a sad case for Missouri, but not hopeless. She must look for deliverance to Kansas, which Missouri at first overrun and subjugated, and which Missouri refused to let come into the Union, but which is drawing emigration through Missouri, and opening the way, and marking out the very course, and inviting Missouri on, and calling upon Eastern capitalists to open a national highway to Pike's Peak and California. Missouri to-day is richer by millions on millions by the settlement of Kansas by free men. All her hopes of competition with the free Northern States are based upon what you are doing, and can do, and will do, to make a Pacific railroad through to the Pacific ocean.

Never was policy of any State more suicidal; for either she is to be forever a slave State, as she desires to be, or she had better have been free from the beginning. If she is a Slave State, she must be a planting State merely, and the value of her land would be nearly worthless—for on an average the value of land in a free State is exactly three-fold the value of land in a slave State. Then, if Missouri wants to be a Slave State, the wisest thing she can do is to do on the west what she has done on the east—i. e., to consent to be surrounded with free, prosperous States.

These free States which you are building in Kansas and Nebraska, are showing and opening the true national highway to the Pacific Ocean. You are producing around Missouri the influences which they dread, and call abolitionising. I don't know any way in which such an operation can be done with so much quietness, as to go round her, and leave her to abolish herself. She will do it, too, because Missouri has got capital, and she will find out that if she is a slave State and Kansas free, Kansas, in twenty years,

will send more members to Congress than Missouri—and people, though slaveholders don't like to give up political power.

Another lesson which this occasion teaches us, is instructive in an eminent degree. When Missouri, in 1820, compelled Congress to admit her as a slave State, and in 1854 to abrogate the Missouri Compromise, and in 1856 drove all freemen from Kansas, in order to have Slavery in Kansas, she did not see how futile would be her efforts. Missouri obtained these concessions for Slavery from the General Government, not because the people of the United States love Slavery, but because they love the Union.

But all the efforts of the slave power were defeated by bands of emigrants from New England, from New York and other Eastern States, from Germany and Ireland—who came up the Missouri river, fearless of cannons, and found the slaveholders here armed; and they drove them out of the Territory, and established what is called an "Abolition" Territory—making it a place for connection by the "Underground Railroad" with every State. Who would have believed that this could have been done, and that we should have met here to-day to celebrate it with all kinds of demonstrations—by the firing of cannon, by dinners and balls—and the Union be just as safe now as it was before? [Cheers.]

Another consideration. It is not our choice, fellow citizens, that our lot as a people is cast upon a continent, and that we are so constituted that in spite of ourselves we must become, sooner or later, the possessors of the whole continent of North America, from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Pacific to the Atlantic coast. France and Spain and Great Britain, who formerly occupied vast possessions on this continent, have been gradually giving way, retiring. Every year they are weaker, and it is only a question of fifty or one hundred years, before we shall be masters of the American Confederacy or Republic, over all this.

Now, a government which is to be extended over a continent needs wealth; it needs riches. A great government needs wealth in proportion to its extent; its people must have wealth as an element of their happiness and prosperity. It is utterly contemptible and ridiculous to say, that the continent of North America, instead of being peopled by free men, who are willing to take it at forty acres apiece and enrich it,—instead of this, to turn off all these free laborers, and get slaves from Africa at two hundred dollars a head. What wealth have they in the Slave States? I much mistake if the people of Kansas would, ten years hence, exchange their wealth for that of the Old Dominion—slaves included.

Great nations require something more than

wealth; they need intelligence, vigor and energy among the people. You are to-day planted here, where, if, as they apprehend, the slaves become discontented, and the people of the slave States are to be protected, you are the very men upon whom they must rely for that protection; you are the men to defend them; you must also raise the means to defend the national flag upon every sea, and over all this continent. Give men freedom; then every freeman will give you a return—an equivalent for it; deny them that, and every man becomes an alien, an enemy, under the Government. You remember how feeble and defenceless we Free State men were ten years ago: you see now that we are established in Kansas—upon the Pacific ocean in the centre of the continent, and we might almost say that—

"We are monarchs of all we survey."

This success, this power, has been obtained—how? It has been obtained amid reproach, invective, against force, fraud, and the power of the Federal Government. This success will soon be made still more apparent by the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency. [Cheers.] And this victory has been built upon nothing except those smooth, round pebbles with which we laid the foundations—and the storms of earth and hell shall not prevail against it.

It reminds me of that beautiful island of Capri, on which the rocks are piled in native deformity, but in native strength, upon whose summits I found the ruins of the palaces of Domitian and Nero. Yet when I entered a cavern on the shore, I found that the whole Island rested on a foundation of coral.

These are the considerations which present themselves to me on coming among you. I have kept nothing back. Henceforth, if my confidence in the stability of the American Union wavers, I shall come here to learn that the Union is stronger than human ambition, because it is founded in the affection of the American people. If ever I shall waver in my affection for Freedom, I shall come up here and renew it—here under the inspiration of one hundred thousand freemen, saved from Slavery. Henceforth, these shall not be my sentiments alone, but the sentiments of ALL. Men will come up to Kansas as they go up to Jerusalem. This shall be a sacred city.

For my brethren and companions' sake, then, I say—Peace be within your walls, and plenteousness in all your cabins, soon to become palaces. And now, people of Kansas, once more HAIL! and at the same time, Farewell.

[Three most enthusiastic cheers were then given by all the assembled multitude for Gov. Seward.]



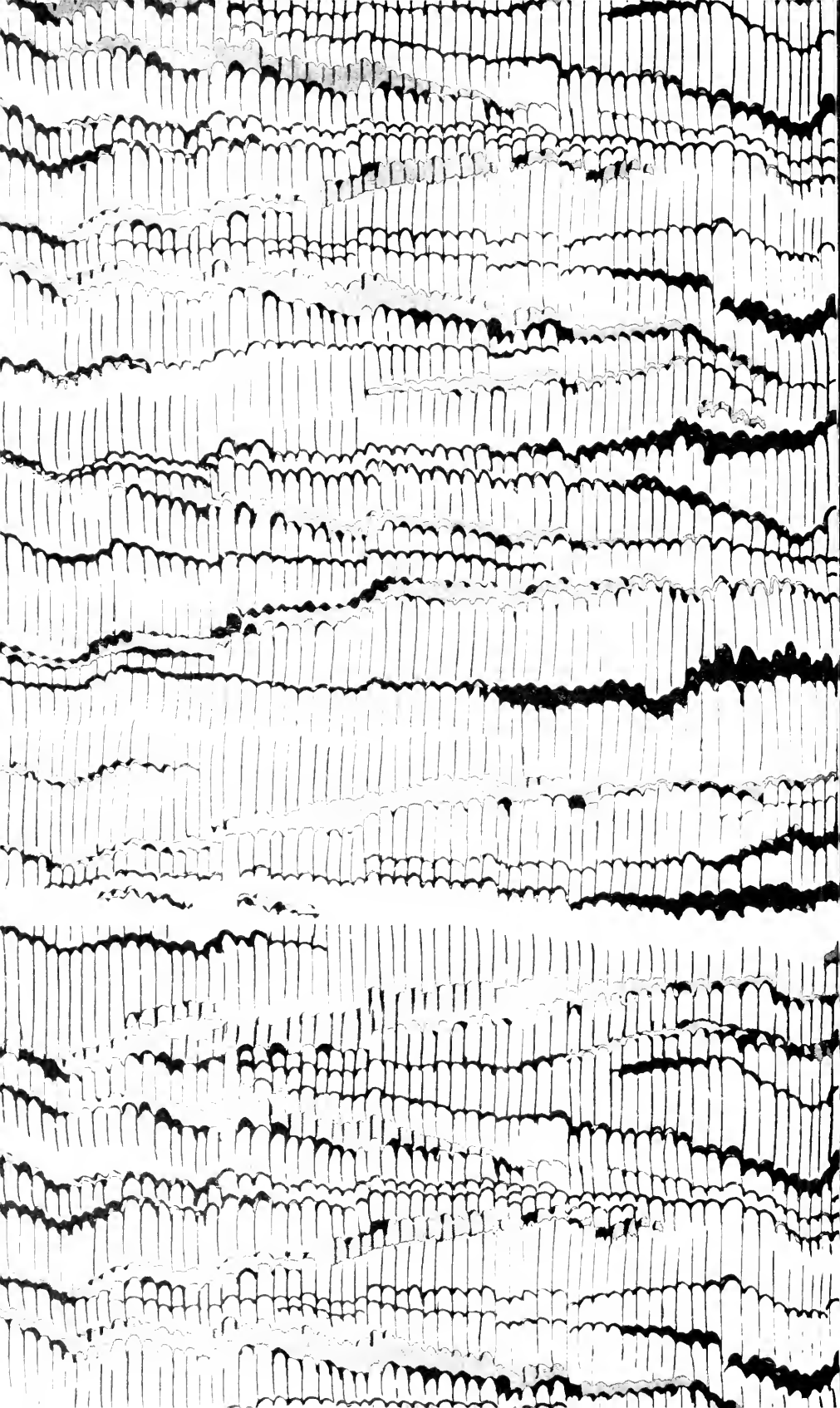


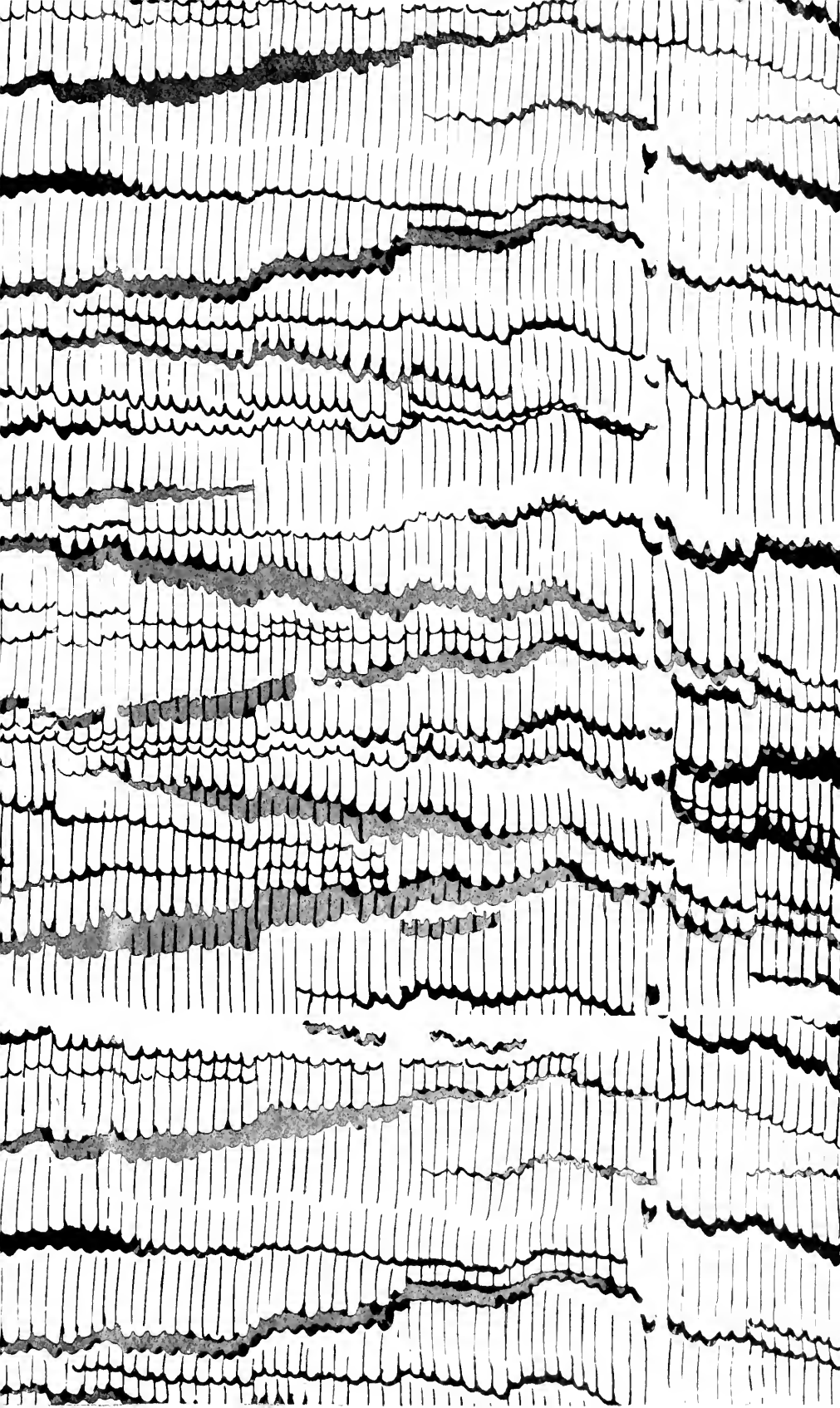












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